HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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## Behind the Riots

# Poverty Offices Riddled with Revolutionaries

By VICTOR RIESEL

The poverty people had better look to their semantics. Revolutionary antics and propaganda operations of hundreds of their aides in the "lower depths" are turning the American dream into a nightmare.

They've not yet learned that they're taken literally and seriously when they orate in terms of the social revolution —fight city hall, smash the establishment, crack the power structure, and put the wings on community action. When this sociological jargon seeps down to the ghettos it begets violence.

Yet the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) and thousands of its tiny —sometimes store-front—headquarters are loaded with literature and promoters of street action. Some of the latter are of the New Left, the independent Maoists, the Trotskyites, the pro-Peking Progressive Labor party "youth" and even Muscovite Communist party activists, including an occasional old-time courier.

**Someone said recently there are minuscule movements which inject large doses of Castroitis into the teeming regions of the turbulent poor. Many New Left leaders operate their own crusades and in some fashion, by becoming subunits of subsidiaries of sections of regional groupings of the poverty program, receive federal subsidies.**

It's gotten so out of hand that one of the OEO's highest officials, himself a militant liberal out of the labor movement, moaned the other day that:

"The time has come to put the provocateurs away. Someone should have the courage to pick up Stokely Carmichael and that playwright LeRoi Jones [specialist in the new lewd drama—V.R.] and Rap Brown and put them in protective custody [Brown was arrested last week]. They talk too much of killing and killing. They incite. They play into the Mao-ist hands. What will happen if we suddenly need 5,000 or 6,000 U.S. Army paratroopers in 10 or 12 cities? Where will we get them? What will happen if they're not available?"

Thus bitterly spoke a man who has spent his entire life fighting for the poor and organizing unions on the roughest fronts, and who is considered one of the government's leading intellectuals. As Detroit, the model of city programming, burned, he added, "this is the stinkingest day of my life."

In many regions the poverty program has meshed well with the "power structure." But in many other heavily concentrated population centers it is out of control. In some areas of New York City, the record will show that street gangs have been subsidized by units of the poverty "crusade." The teen-age thugs have been wooed and even provided with money and store-front headquarters—thus crippling the influence of moderate groups seeking to discuss housing and education.

**There are receipted bills to prove that men identified with the Communists have been subsidized for organizing rent strike action, street movements and picketing of city hall.**

There are experts who say they have evidence that youth operating on the fringe of the program have distributed leaflets containing instructions for the manufacture of Molotov cocktails.

There was LeRoi Jones' Black Arts Repertory Theatre in Harlem. It was brutally anti-white. When the police raided it they found a cache of automatic guns, small arms, ammunition, brass knuckles and explosives. This was no modern museum. It was a revolutionary cell. And it had been subsidized by HARYOU-Act, a section of the poverty operation.

It is believed that, in one fashion or other, this is the pattern in Newark, Detroit and other fire-bombed cities. The militants don't start the riots. The federal government has no evidence that there are coast-to-coast flying squads. But once the flares and the criminal forces move in to loot and burn, then

The Detroit explosion last week, which took nearly 40 lives and cost $500 million, focuses attention on the role of anti-poverty agencies in the ghettos.

the revolutionary fervor billows up among the ghetto people. They have been listening so long to talk of social and community action that they decide to implement the talk, which springs not only from on high here in Washington but from the youth of the small, intra-city revolutionary cells.

And it is the fashion to hire these young revolutionaries. They zero in on the poor who have been told to organize themselves and run the poverty program. The poor don't know that their districts have been colonized by the militant factions such as the Maoist and revolutionary guerrilla actionists of the Progressive Labor party.

Furthermore, the community action talk also comes from respectable circles which believe that the community people and community "unions" should smash the old labor establishment as well as the "power structure" at city hall.

**Look at the record. Look at the network of Saul Alinsky "visible" operations. Even Walter Reuther's Citizens Crusade Against Poverty (CCAP) people talk in these terms.**

About a year ago, Richard Boone, CCAP executive director, told me:

"As we see it, the recruits would come into a central center for a month and they would be given a thorough history of work with the poor. . . . The big question is whether we will play an Alinsky approach or be nice guys. Our position really is pragmatic. Local situations differ. People we train must be able to take the establishment on a conflict basis. Sometimes the operation must be less overt. . . . Alinsky seeks out a powerful issue, housing maybe, school maybe, and literally attacks the establishment on that issue. This is a very visible process and generates support.

"We must train workers to take advantage of both approaches, the quiet and the overt action."

Certainly Mr. Boone did not have last week's Detroit in mind. But he and other sociologists and university people are long overdue in realizing that the semantics of the scholars can be the incendiaries of the proletariat.

They just don't talk a common language. Detroit, the model, proved that.

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NEWSPAPER

Would you like to see 100,000 more Americans reading HUMAN EVENTS next week?

Turn to page 5 to find out how.

# How Your Tax Money Is Used to Inflame Riots

By ROBERT S. ALLEN

Anti-poverty workers paid with federal funds were in the forefront of the inflammatory agitation and provocative incitement that preceded the destructive and bloody riots and looting in a number of cities.

Singled out particularly are Newark, N.J., Buffalo, N.Y., and Durham, N.C.

That's the unqualified charge of Rep. James Gardner (R.-N.C.), based on documentary and other concrete evidence in his possession.

A member of the House Education and Labor Committee that is considering President Johnson's proposed $2.06-billion anti-poverty budget, Gardner made personal visits to these violence-wracked communities to study conditions and the factors that precipitated the disastrous outbreaks.

On the basis of these first-hand inquiries, he is convinced that:

• Anti-poverty workers definitely had a hand in the incendiary circumstances that led to the tragic upheavals. Gardner cites specific instances and names of such government - paid poverty workers.

• Anti-poverty Director Sargent Shriver is pussyfooting and whitewashing

Continued on page 14

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# HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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● A "Black Power" advocate recently told an acquaintance of his at Human Events that the militants are working hard to touch off a ***major riot in Washington*** toward the end of the summer. And while D.C. Police Chief John Layton strongly doubts it, this same man insists there is a ready cache of arms available for the prospective rioters. "If the city erupts and I'm in view," the militant warned his acquaintance, "don't look to me for aid."

● A top aid to **Richard Nixon** insists that last week's Evans-Novak column claiming the former vice president is cutting himself off from conservative Republicans is pure hokum planted by ne'er-do-wells in the Rockefeller camp. Indeed, in the very same week the Evans-Novak "expose" appeared, Nixon was known to have been in contact with a number of Goldwater Republicans and had managed to have a chummy talk with Gov. Ronald Reagan; so chummy, in fact, that Reagan said he would try to remove himself from the New Hampshire GOP presidential primary. His name would undoubtedly have drawn votes from the former vice president.

● Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio) noted last week that LBJ's proclamation for **Captive Nations Week** this year doesn't mention the word communism or refer to any Communist-controlled country.

● Rep. Joel Broyhill (R.-Va.) blasts the appointment to a $50-a-day poverty post of **Marion Barry,** militant head of the Washington branch of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Barry, an intemperate "Black Power" advocate, will be assisted by Rufus "Catfish" Mayfield, who boasts a long prison record.

● **Drew Pearson** has now, it seems, given his official blessing to the system of communism. The United States, Pearson wrote last week, is having major insurrection in the cities "all because we refuse to remedy the basic causes—poverty, slum housing, overcrowded schools, inadequate teachers, alcoholism and crime. These are conditions which the Communist countries that we oppose abroad have remedied but which get progressively worse in America."

● Harper & Row officials say they have no current plans to follow Arthur Schlesinger Jr.'s advice and postpone publication of **Svetlana Stalin's memoirs** until after November 7, the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. The Harvard historian made his plea for postponement as a gesture of goodwill toward the Soviet Union. After a recent visit to Moscow, Schlesinger said Soviet leaders were convinced that the present publication date, October 16, was part of an American plan to spoil the anniversary celebration and Schlesinger, apparently, doesn't want to ruin the fun.

● New York liberals are doing their best to polish off Rep. **Paul Fino** (R.-N.Y.), who votes against Red trade, Demonstration Cities programs and rent subsidies and refuses to take orders from "Fun City" Mayor John Lindsay. Though the Lindsay crowd took a bad licking at the polls recently when it tried to defeat the Fino organization, bigger guns are being trained on the Bronx congressman. Already Joseph Curran, liberal president of the National Maritime Union, has desperately called for a united union effort to defeat Fino for re-election in 1968.

● Doubleday & Co. has offered about $100,000 for a book by Sen. **Robert F. Kennedy** setting forth his views on major national and international issues.

● The D.C. Court of Appeals has unanimously upheld the disorderly conduct conviction of **Arthur Kinoy,** arrested last year for disrupting hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Kinoy, a left-wing "civil liberties" specialist, plans to further appeal the conviction.

● Unlike U.S. officials, Israeli spokesmen aren't afraid to square off against the Soviet Union. Speaking before the National Press Club in Washington recently, Israeli Ambassador **Avraham Harman** bluntly accused the Soviets of pouring new arms into the Arab states, and called this a "curious posture for a peace-loving country." Harman also accused the Soviet Union of provoking the war by spreading false rumors among the Arab leaders about a supposed attack the Israelis had planned on Damascus, Syria.

● The Treasury and the Budget Bureau have disclosed the government's ordinary administrative **budget deficit** in the fiscal year 1967 was $9.9 billion—more than five times as high as the President had predicted.

● *Insiders are now saying that* French President **Charles de Gaulle** is being increasingly *influenced by pro-Communist advisers and* blame them for de Gaulle's incredible gaffe last week when, in Canada, he called upon Quebec to free itself from Canadian rule. (De Gaulle left the country in a huff after a stinging rebuke from Prime Minister Lester Pearson.) Aside from pleasing Canadian radicals with this statement, the aging general also tried to stir up anti-American feelings by urging his host country to free itself from the "colossus" to the south.

● Prompted by a Human Events story last week, Rep. Richard Roudebush (R.-Ind.) of the House Committee on Un-American Activities is digging deeper into why the Pentagon gave a secret security clearance to a known member of the Communist-controlled W.E.B. DuBois Clubs. The member, **Robert Arthur Niemann,** who is currently working on a NASA space contract, has told Human Events he voted for and worked with known Communists.

● California attorney **Edward Keating,** former publisher of Ramparts magazine, has entered the race for the Democratic nomination for the congressional seat in San Mateo County (San Francisco) left vacant by the death of Republican Arthur J. Younger. Keating, who captured 47 per cent of the Democratic primary vote in the same district last year, plans to run on a peacenik ticket.

● Wisconsin's new **presidential primary law**—signed last week by GOP Gov. Warren Knowles—may prove very embarrassing to Lyndon Johnson. It contains a provision enabling a person to register his disapproval of a non-opposed candidate by voting "No." A campaign for a "No" vote against LBJ is already being discussed by dissident Democrats.




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## LBJ's Political Commission

LBJ's selection of Illinois Gov. Otto Kerner to head the 10-man commission investigating the riots is seen as a cynical political gambit. Kerner is little more than a political hack, a captive of Boss Daley's Chicago machine. Kerner is up for re-election next year and most observers rate him a decided underdog, after an unimpressive job as governor. In picking Kerner to head the riot commission, Johnson is guaranteeing the governor some badly needed publicity and hopes to refurbish his image. The President knows full well that an unpopular Kerner on the Democratic ticket in Illinois could cost him the state's 26 electoral votes in 1968.

KERNER

Indeed, most believe LBJ's entire selection of the riot commission was politically motivated and that its only purpose is to "justify" LBJ's "Great Society" programs. Critics note that almost every member of the commission* is considered a "liberal," who is persuaded that gigantic outlays of federal funds to the poor is the only way to solve the riots.

Rep. James C. Corman (D.-Calif.), Mayor John Lindsay and NAACP leader Roy Wilkins have not only called for more federal spending, but have a long history of appeasing "Black Power" groups. The only law enforcement official on the committee is Atlanta (Ga.) Police Chief Herbert Jenkins, who is also considered liberal in his outlook.

* The full commission: Democratic Gov. Otto Kerner of Illinois, chairman; Steelworkers Union President I. W. Abel; Sen. Edward Brooke (R.-Mass.); liberal Rep. James C. Corman (D.-Calif.); liberal Sen. Fred R. Harris (D.-Okla.); Atlanta Police Chief Herbert Jenkins; New York City Mayor John Lindsay; Rep. William McCulloch (R.-Ohio), a staunch civil rights supporter; Katherine Peden, head of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs; Litton Industries head C. B. Thornton, a Texas businessman for Johnson in 1964; and Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP.

## Great Society Setback

The immediate response by politicos to the riots is that LBJ and the "Great Society" have suffered a terrific blow. In the wake of the criminal wrecking of America's major cities, one Democratic lawmaker contended: "There isn't a man who's been close to Johnson who could get re-elected today."

LBJ's legislative program is considered in serious trouble, particularly his civil rights and anti-poverty proposals. For the moment, also, lawmakers seem bent on enacting legislation LBJ has not necessarily wanted and certainly hasn't emphasized. Anti-riot laws, measures that will compensate riot victims and not the rioters—this is what Congress is now demanding.

One major impact of the riots, say observers, is a new assessment of what causes them. Noting that the riots have occurred in many non-poverty-stricken areas where race relations were considered extremely good, the *Wall Street Journal* philosophized that many are now beginning to wonder if the only way to law and order is through massive federal subsidies and "positive" programs.

There is also a belief, stressed the *Journal,* that "the explosions in the Negro slums have perhaps not been nearly so spontaneous as has been generally assumed or pretended, that small groups of 'outside agitators,' strongly tinged with Communist zeal, have actually been setting the torch in a highly organized fashion. . . ." At any rate, say politicos, the riots have notably put a dent in LBJ's political future.

## Reds Behind Riots?

As a result of the volcanic outbursts across the nation last week, both Senate and House members now appear anxious to probe the various "civil rights" and New Left groups to see what role they have played in planning the destruction of America's cities.

**According to anti-Communist experts, there is no question but that their role has been considerable—far greater than the press, or government officials, have so far acknowledged. Furthermore, there is no question but that many of these groups are saturated from top to bottom with Communists and pro-Communists.**

Here are some of the things that lawmakers will be looking into in the weeks to come for the purpose of discovering how deeply leftists are involved in the rioting:

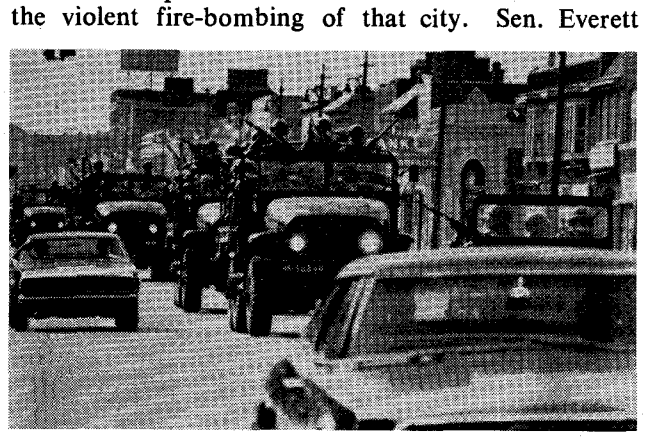
# THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

• Militant Negro leader Stokely Carmichael's illegal trip to Cuba last week to attend a Communist gathering on guerrilla warfare. Honored by Fidel Castro and claiming the Cuban revolution is an inspiration to the American Negro, Carmichael was quoted by the Cuban news agency as saying: "In Newark [N.J.], we are applying the tactics of guerrilla warfare. We are preparing groups of urban guerrillas for our defense in the cities. This struggle is not going to be a mere street meeting. It is going to be a struggle to the death." The agency also quoted the former chieftain of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) as saying that guerrilla warfare expert Ernesto (Che) Guevara was closer to American Negro youth than anyone else.

CARMICHAEL

• The revelation by *Life* magazine journalists that members of a "Black Power" sniper organization sprayed hospitals, police and firemen with a shower of bullets during the Newark rioting. At a clandestine meeting, the snipers freely discussed with *Life* reporters fraternal contact with other black extremist groups such as the pro-Peking Revolutionary Action Movement, the Deacons for Defense and Justice, and US, the Swahili-speaking group in Los Angeles. The Newark snipers, while refusing to identify their organization by name, belong to a group formed by young civil rights workers in Mississippi in 1965. One of the members, a former law student, said there were more than 50 members of this sniper organization active in and around the city. While more than half of them were from Newark, noted *Life,* others "had been moved in for the action from California, Ohio and Pennsylvania."

• Reports coming out from Detroit saying that leftists and pro-Communists were also involved in the violent fire-bombing of that city. Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) has said he has knowledge that a Molotov cocktail "factory" was in operation during the recent riot.



National Guardsmen patrol the streets of riot-torn Detroit.

• The Cambridge, Md., riot and the activities of H. Rap Brown, Carmichael's hand-picked replacement as chairman of SNCC. After Brown made an inflammatory speech to a group of Negroes at a vacant lot in the Negro section, fires and rioting broke out in the area. Brown had told a crowd of 400 cheering Negroes: "It's time for Cambridge to explode, baby. Black folks built America and if America don't come around, we're going to burn America down." Brown also advocated violence, shooting and burning by Negroes to gain "Black Power." Arrested on charges of inciting to violence, Brown's lawyer conveniently turned out to be William Kunstler, a veteran defender of extreme leftists.

BROWN

• Reports that federal funds were directly used to touch off the riots (see cover stories). Newark police believe that a leaflet giving instructions on how to make a Molotov cocktail was run off on mimeograph machines in a Newark poverty office. Also, a number of persons who are connected with the city's federal anti-poverty agency and who have been accused of stirring up the riots are members of a New Left group called the Newark Community Union Project, which believes America is a "warmongering racist society." Newark City Councilman Lee Bernstein, who last year helped draft a report critical of the anti-poverty program, has called for destruction of the Community Union Project to "eliminate . . . agitation and disruption."

• Disclosure that tax-paid anti-poverty workers were actively involved in the New York riots. Gotham police last week arrested 23 hoodlums for looting Fifth Avenue stores. Of the group, four were salaried poverty workers. "People in the anti-poverty program are no better and no worse than people in general," said a top poverty official when informed of the arrests.

• Substantive reports that pro-Communists and Communists have been deliberately spreading false rumors to spark the violence in various cities. In Newark, it is believed, to touch off the riot militant leftists fabricated the story that two policemen had beaten a cab driver to death. The cab driver was only slightly wounded when he allegedly struggled with police, but the story of his death spread like a prairie fire and resulted in violent rioting. Negro columnist William Raspberry, writing in the Washington *Post* last week, told of wild rumors circulating in Washington's Negro community "started deliberately by members of well known (if not widely recognized) organizations . . . coldly calculated to set the town afire."

• Possible participation of members of Students for a Democratic Society. SDS's recent national chairman has called for "guerrilla warfare" in the cities and the SDS's June convention in Ann Arbor, Mich., called for the support of such radical groups as SNCC and the Revolutionary Action Movement.

*Human Events* has long warned of Communist and pro-Communist involvement in what have become the annual summer riots in America's big cities. After the Cleveland riots in 1966, a respected grand jury reported that the outbreak of disorder was "both organized, precipitated and exploited" by a group of professionals, "many of whom are avowed believers in violence and extremism and some of whom are also members or officers of the Communist party." The 1964 Harlem riots resulted in the criminal anarchy conviction of Bill Epton, vice chairman of the pro-Peking Progressive Labor party. As a result of the new wave of violence, Congress finally seems determined to explore the inflammatory role of the Communists.

## Bobby Aids Black Power

The Ford Foundation's $175,000 grant to the militant Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) may have been done as part of a deal Bobby Kennedy made with CORE members to receive their backing in future election years. That, at any rate, is the surmising of some politicos in the wake of the recent CORE convention in Oakland, Calif.

A charge was leveled at the conclave that national



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director Floyd McKissick, to ease CORE's financial crisis, was planning a new special fund, aided by Bobby, in exchange for CORE's political support. McKissick reportedly conceded that some of Kennedy's aides have been helpful in setting up a fund, but denied that it had been done on the basis of promised political backing.

Less than two weeks later the Ford Foundation, headed by Bobby confidant McGeorge Bundy, one-time White House adviser to John Kennedy, granted CORE $175,000, the first grant by the foundation to a "Black Power" organization.

**Whatever the real reason for the Bobby-Bundy efforts to bail CORE out of a financial jam, close observers of the "Black Power" movement say any aid to CORE will only help the same extremists who've been setting off the tragic riots in major American cities across the country.**

The CORE convention, one of the most militant ever, passed resolutions loaded with fire and brimstone. The convention condemned the Viet Nam war as a "racist and genocidal adventure" and called for a black draft resistance campaign. Heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali was hailed as a "great black patriot." According to the pro-Communist *National Guardian,* CORE also adopted proposals for the "development of 'Black Power,' militant black leadership . . . new links with Africa. . . ." Convention delegates also struck the word "multiracial" from the CORE constitution.

Nevertheless, the Bobby-Bundy duo seeks to keep this extremist organization afloat with tax-exempt money from the Ford Foundation.

## Tshombe's Fate in Balance

Apparently overruling State Department officials who have asserted that Moise Tshombe is "none of our business," President Johnson has reportedly urged the Congo government not to execute its former premier. But reports are unclear as to how forceful any plea from the President has been.

TSHOMBE

Tshombe's life hangs precariously in the balance now that the Algerian Supreme Court has ordered his extradition to the Congo. Sentenced to death for "treason" while living in Spanish exile, Tshombe was kidnapped in mid-air by an armed agent of the Congo government on June 30; his plane was then flown to an Algerian military airport where he was taken into custody.

Diplomatic observers stress that the United States owes Tshombe more than a few words on his behalf and should make every effort not only to see he is not executed, but permitted to return to political exile in Spain.

**These same observers say that the former Congolese premier has done enormous favors for the United States and the free world.**

At the end of June 1964, President Kasavubu dismissed his prime minister and called upon Tshombe to head up a new government. The move was born of desperation, since the military situation in the country looked so bleak that Congo experts in the Pentagon anticipated a complete Communist victory within 90 days.

Tshombe, with American assent, then recruited a small force of mercenaries and within a matter of months had routed the Communist-backed rebel movement. When the rebel government in Stanleyville threatened to massacre the white residents if the city was attacked, Tshombe, at State Department urging, agreed to issue a formal request for a U.S.-Belgian rescue operation, even though it brought down upon him the full fury of the African firebrands.

Still later, Tshombe, again at U.S. urging, agreed to step down from the premiership rather than force a showdown with President Kasavubu, who was desperately trying to oust the popular Tshombe from power. Tshombe resigned with the assurance he would nevertheless be permitted to run for the presidency.

When Mobutu staged his coup against the increasingly tyrannical and left-leaning Kasavubu in 1965, Tshombe, acting once more under U.S. advice, agreed to give Mobutu his backing. But Mobutu then called off the election, thus preventing Tshombe from his almost sure chance at winning the presidency. At this point, Tshombe went into exile.

**Thus, at every turn since he became premier in 1964, Moise Tshombe has willingly cooperated with the United States.**

Pointing out our moral obligation to free Tshombe, Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.) last week emphasized that the former Congolese leader could hardly be expected to receive fair treatment from the Mobutu government. He noted:

• In March of this year, Tshombe was sentenced to death in absentia by a military court in the Congo for "treason." The trial lasted all of 30 minutes and was conducted without defense counsel of any kind and without witnesses. There is no stenographic record of the trial available. In addition to the death sentence, Tshombe was also sentenced to 90 years in prison, an act which prompted *Life* magazine to wryly comment: "Presumably both sentences were to run concurrently."

• Mobutu is a tyrannical dictator. "The fact is," noted Dodd, "there was a thousand times more democracy in the Congo under Tshombe than there is under the paranoid dictatorship of Gen. Mobutu, whose methods of government, indeed, are as brutal and ruthless as were those of Kwame Nkrumah." Under Tshombe, said Dodd, there was a free press; under Mobutu freedom of the press is zero. Under Tshombe there were political parties and parliament counted for something; under Mobutu "the parliamentarians have been sent home, opposition leaders have been imprisoned or executed, and political parties have been abolished."

• More recently, there was the case of Mr. Van Den Steen, a Belgian who was arrested by the Congolese authorities and who, in the course of his interrogation, had his stomach burned with hot brands and had the five fingers on his right hand and his right ear cut off.

"The Mobutu government owes its life to the United States and its foreign aid program," remarked one African expert last week, "so there's no reason we aren't able to pressure Mobutu into relinquishing Tshombe. Unless he's gotten off the hook, pro-Western Africans will rightly conclude that they can't rely on the word of the United States."

• Mrs. Moise Tshombe has submitted a petition for a writ of world habeas corpus from the U.N. Commission on Human Rights in an effort to save her husband from execution. She appeared at a press conference at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City with her attorney, Luis Kutner of Chicago. Kutner said the kidnapping was clearly illegal and that "If the Congo wants Tshombe, they should proceed legally with Spain." Kutner first used the international habeas corpus ploy successfully in helping free William Oatis, an Associated Press correspondent jailed from 1951 to 1953 by Czechoslovakia as a spy.

## AFL-CIO Poll

The AFL-CIO, say labor experts, has desperately tried to cover up the significance of the now well-publicized Kraft poll on the attitudes of thousands of union members toward various issues.

To the howls of the union bosses, the *Wall Street Journal* bared the purported findings of this poll a few weeks ago. According to the *Journal,* the poll disclosed incipient conservatism and Republicanism among the union rank-and-filers—a fact that has alarmed the labor hierarchy.

**Union members, said the Journal, not only had a limited interest in such traditional Big Labor goals as Social Security, minimum wages and opposition to right-to-work laws, but they were particularly worried about high taxes and crime in the streets—subjects of great interest to Republicans.**

Worried about the publicity impact of the poll, union leaders have now gone out of their way to confuse or refute the *Journal*'s findings. Alexander Barkan, director of the AFL-CIO's powerful Committee on Political Education (COPE), has energetically tried to convey a different story about the poll to the press. Barkan says the *Journal*'s article is distorted and insists the poll is "encouraging" for the union movement. In the AFL-CIO's magazine, *The Federationist,* Barkan writes that the Kraft survey demonstrates that the majority of union members support LBJ and that 67 to 94 per cent back the labor organization on seven leading public issues.

**While Barkan has suggested the Journal is in error, he has resolutely declined to publish the actual poll or the conclusions drawn by Kraft. The entire survey is still being kept under super-secret wraps, reportedly in George Meany's personal safe.**

Furthermore, Barkan has had to admit there are "warning signals" in the poll and that 53 per cent of the rank-and-filers *are* worried about inflation and taxes. He also acknowledges that younger members are less concerned about issues that troubled their elders 30 years ago.

Thus, even while attempting to discredit the *Journal*'s report, Barkan, in effect, has had to concede some of its major conclusions. And as long as the poll is kept utterly secret, most politicos are going to accept the findings of the *Journal* rather than the word of one of the chief pitchmen of the AFL-CIO.

## LBJ's Spoils System

During the 90th Congress Roy McVicker was a member in good standing of LBJ's Rubber Stamp Brigade. A former preacher, McVicker was carried into Congress on the Johnson coattails in 1964. Two years later voters in Colorado's 2nd Congressional District turned him out, returning Republican Donald Brotzman to Washington.

McVICKER

Unemployed, McVicker needed work. And because he plans to run again in 1968 he needed something that would keep him in Denver. To the rescue came Uncle Sam, which hired McVicker as a $100-a-day consultant on one of the most absurd make-work projects in recent history.

McVicker is directing a State Department study to "determine the feasibility of coupling the people and know-how of a specific area of the United States [Colorado] with the aspirations and needs of a developing country or region [Latin America]."

Aiding him in his work are two associate directors, two clerical employes, five part-time clerical employes, one part-time typist and three part-time research analyst volunteers. The McVicker "team" occupies $589-a-month offices in the plush Denver City Club building.

What exactly has the taxpayer received for his money?

"Since the project was approved in January, the Denver office has been established and staffed; an internal audit committee and a vocational education advisory group have been appointed; other programs have been reviewed; initial study areas have been identified; and basic data has been collected, organized and initially evaluated with particular emphasis on resources in Colorado relevant to the initial study areas," the State Department says.

## Capsules

✔ Top defense officials are concerned about serious mechanical problems that have undermined the readiness of the Minuteman 2, the most advanced missile in the nation's nuclear arsenal. . . . *Sen. Thruston Morton's blast at the GOP Coordinating Committee for partially blaming LBJ for the riots may hurt him with his Republican constituents in the 1968 elections.* . . . The coordinating committee said LBJ was partially to blame for the riots because of his refusal to support anti-crime measures. . . . *Former assistant secretary of labor Daniel P. Moynihan told senators last week that white liberals had "subtly encouraged" the Negroes to violence.* . . . LBJ took a terrific shellacking when the House last week slashed some $700 million—almost 25 per cent of the total requested—from his foreign aid bill before sending it to the Senate.



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Rhodesian economists believe that country will soon be self-sufficient in wheat production—a strong Rhodesian economy might well help in possible talks with the British.

# Is Rhodesian Accord Near?

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

The British Parliament will go into summer recess when the Houses rise on July 28. Sessions will resume October 23. It now seems highly probable that during this 12-week interim period, negotiations will be renewed between the Wilson government and the "rebel regime" in Rhodesia. Friends of both nations will hope earnestly that the talks prove fruitful.

Rumors of revived conversations have been floating about London and Salisbury for the past fortnight, since Lord Alport returned from his three-week feeling-out excursion. Lord Alport is a Tory peer who served for nearly three years, in Federation days, as British high commissioner to Rhodesia.

**A man of infinite vanities, each more insufferable than the one before, he set a mark for pomposity not likely to be soon surpassed. By his own admission, he left Rhodesia in 1962 as "an enemy."**

This time, he remarked a few weeks ago, he hoped to depart as a friend. And perhaps he did. As a sort of Averell Harriman to Harold Wilson, the trouble-shooting Lord Alport spent three weeks interviewing "every shade of opinion" in Rhodesia. He had three long interviews with Prime Minister Ian Smith, the last of these a 95-minute session on July 13. He saw every member of the Smith ministry, but he talked also with tribal chiefs and with white moderates.

There is every indication that he found increasing sentiment in Rhodesia toward settlement of the prolonged dispute with Britain. The feeling, of course, was not unanimous. Lord Alport scarcely had flown out of town before Brigadier Andrew Dunlop, Rhodesia's truculent minister of transport, was on his feet denouncing his mission. Only "morons or poltroons," Dunlop cried, would settle on terms approaching those of the famed *Tiger* agreement.

But the word from Salisbury was that Dunlop's attack caused acute embarrassment within the Smith government. Smith himself was strongly disposed toward many of the provisions he negotiated with Wilson aboard *H.M.S. Tiger* eight months ago. It is likely that the moderate Rhodesian Constitutional Association correctly appraised Dunlop's attack as no more than "a last-ditch attempt to stem the increasing tide of popular opinion calling for settlement."

A comparable tide of opinion, one suspects, is rising within England itself. Some articulate clerics and a group of ultra-liberal Labour back-benchers are clamoring for continued intransigence, but many other Britons are fed up with punishing Rhodesia.

And why not? It is evident that the mandatory boycott imposed by the United Nations in December is not working. The Manchester *Guardian's* Salisbury correspondent reported on July 13, in an entirely typical dispatch, that a steady stream of Japanese automobiles is flowing into Rhodesia. It is an informed guess that Rhodesia's embargoed tobacco is beginning to slip out to world markets. Doubtless the economic sanctions are hurting, but they are not hurting fatally.

**Meanwhile, other currents are moving. The U.N.'s resolutions against Rhodesia are drawing increasing fire from critics, such as Dean Acheson, who command respect in international forums. Simultaneously, some of the new African nations are losing the ideological support they once commanded. The United Nations itself declines in favor. The whole fabric that once supported the boycott is falling apart at the seams.**

This dispute can be settled; the boycott can be lifted. A new Rhodesia, having dominion status within the Commonwealth, can rejoin the family of nations. A settlement will require some yielding on Britain's part, especially as to conditions during an interim period between independence and readmission; and it will require some yielding on Rhodesia's part, especially as to ultimate majority African rule.

No one imagines that reconciliation will be easy, with Dunlop's hard-liners firing at Smith and Labourite zealots sniping at Wilson, but no one should believe that reconciliation is impossible. These next 12 weeks could write a peaceful ending to a discreditable chapter in the chronicles of the U.N. and the history of England.

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**HIGH COST OF STRIKES**—Strikes cost the nation's economy more than 10 million man-days of lost production in the first five months of this year, the Labor Department reported recently. It was the highest figure in 11 years.


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**Go West, Young Man**

# Where the Conservative Votes Are

## *Changing population patterns disprove liberal claim that GOP must move leftward to please city dwellers*

By M. STANTON EVANS

"Our problem," Josh Billings wrote, "is not ignorance; it is just that we know so many things that aren't true."

The accuracy of that observation is nowhere more apparent than in discussing future tendencies of the American electorate. Take, for example, the current argument that our politics in general and the Republican party in particular are being pushed inexorably toward liberalism by the sheer force of population trends.

This theory, broadcast at length by liberal theoreticians and gratefully adopted by Eastern Republicans trying to stake a claim to control of the national GOP, says the voting public is becoming increasingly urban and increasingly youthful, and that these developments make a liberal stance imperative for aspiring politicians.

A Senate Republican Policy Committee staff study offers a fairly typical statement of this view. This report maintains that the urban-youthful "new power group" in American politics "will vote in terms of a reaction to problems, not an allegiance to philosophies. . . . Whichever party offers the most rational solutions may well win the respect and long-term allegiance of this New Electorate."

Underlining the implication that conservative principle must be abandoned for governmental "problem - solving," the report adds: "The denser the population, the more government tends to multiply and extend itself, if only because a dense population depends increasingly upon common services." The new electorate, disregarding questions of philosophy, will demand government-supplied "solutions" to things, and the Republican party must pitch in and supply them.

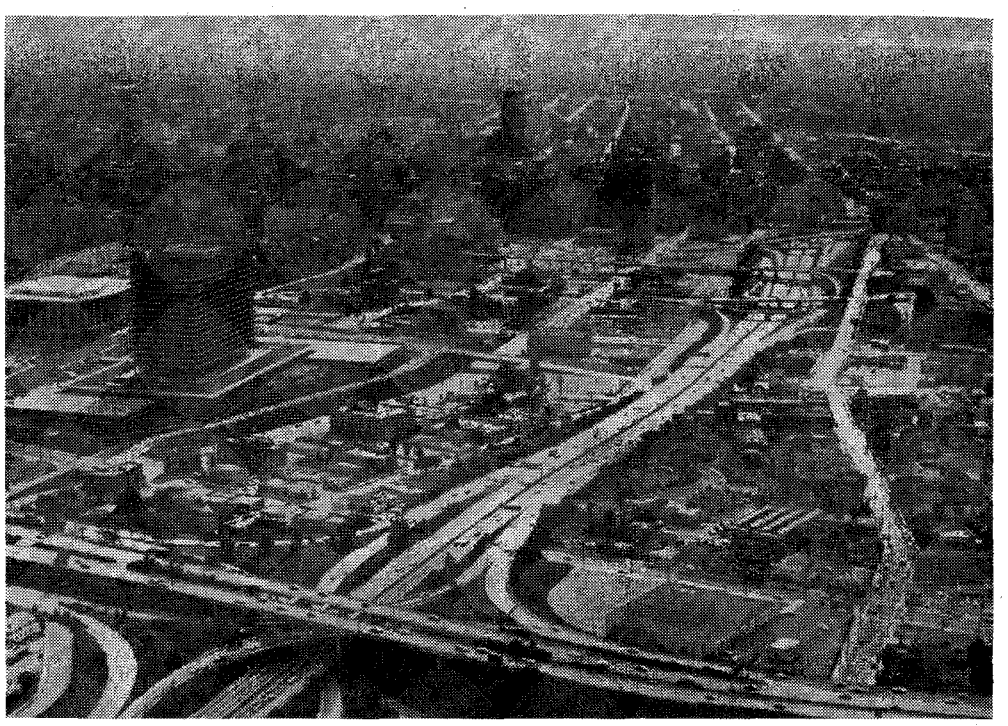
How valid is this liberal argument-from-population?

Examination of the data indicates it is completely mistaken—that there is in fact nothing in the population figures suggesting a necessary trend toward liberalism, and a good deal of evidence suggesting the opposite. Much of this latter evidence is, however, usually omitted from liberal pronouncements on the subject of the "new electorate."

The census figures show that, far from producing a population mix attuned to liberal cliche, the "urbanization" wave is more nearly doing the reverse. The liberal view of the matter derives from a hazy popular image of "urban" life which consists solely of ghettos, concrete canyons, crowded masses shoe horned into the downtown areas of our major cities. People in such circumstances have generally responded to the political left, and if there are going to be more and more such people, it stands to reason there is also going to be more leftism.

But, taken in context, this doleful vision is a trick of the imagination. There are of course plenty of people who live in such circumstances, and there will be more of them in general as time goes by. But relatively speaking, as a result of present population trends, the downtown areas thus populated are going to be having less and less political influence, not more and more.

This seeming paradox is explained by the fact that the technical meaning of the word "urban" is quite different from the popular image—so that "urbanization" can and does include many different kinds of population change. Strictly speaking, an "urban" area is any community of more than 2,500 people—a definition which obviously embraces thousands of hamlets, small towns and middle-sized cities with political convictions the reverse of those which prevail in Manhattan.



**The massive Los Angeles metropolitan area is, as Evans puts it, "suburbia incarnate" as well as one of the most conservative regions in the country. Commentators for years have been saying that L.A. is the "city of the future."**

Most important, the "urban" definition includes the rapidly expanding suburban communities which surround the big cities. It is in these suburbs, in fact, that the major "urban" population increase of the past three decades has occurred. Between 1934 and 1954, total American population increased by 25 per cent; but the suburbs increased by 75 per cent. Between 1940 and 1954, the central cities grew by 14 per cent; but the suburbs grew by 35 per cent and the semi-rural "exurbs" beyond them grew by 41 per cent.

Liberal journalist Max Lerner, who provides these figures, comments that: "There is an important shift away from the farms and small towns to the cities, and a shift in turn from the big cities to the suburbs on their periphery. The net result for the big-city cores, except in the areas of population boom, showed only minor gains. But on the margins of the big cities . . . the population grew lushly."

This trend has continued just as markedly in the decade since Lerner wrote. The GOP Policy Committee notes the continued flow of the American people to the suburbs—without, however, drawing any political conclusions from it. "Today," the report observes, "over 58 million Americans live in the suburbs, a gain of almost 50 per cent in the last census decade." This vast increase compares with an 11 per cent gain in the central cities.

Urban authority Victor Gruen pinpoints an even more radical disparity between downtown and suburban population trends in the case of New York City, the archetypical American metropolis. Total population in downtown New York, Gruen observes, has actually decreased, so that "during the last 10 years, Manhattan has lost about 200,000 inhabitants in spite of the fact that there was an in-migration of large numbers of economically underprivileged inhabitants. The meaning behind these figures is that about half a million or more persons of middle-class status . . . have settled in the suburbs."

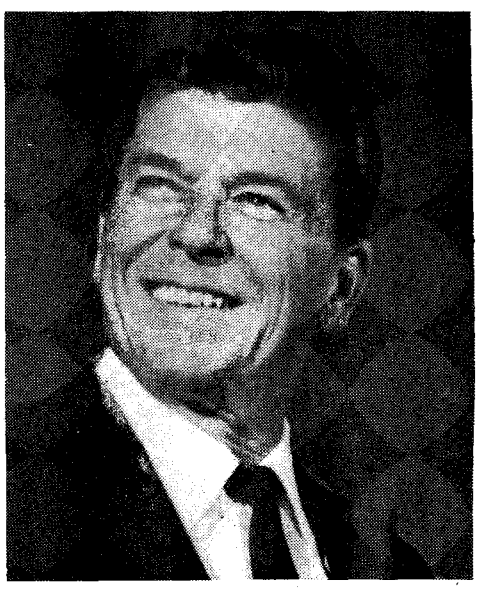
It is apparent that talk of "urban" explosion is highly misleading. What is referred to in most such cases is chiefly, although not entirely, a *sub*-urban explosion—with implications quite different from those the population-crisis rhetoric leads us to expect. Suburban voting habits in most sections of the country are not liberal, but conservative. Recent elections have contradicted the mid-50s suggestion of Samuel Lubell and Bennett Berger, that voters who had been Democrats when they lived in the city would stay that way in the suburbs.

Suburban voters in the South, Midwest and West have moved heavily toward conservatism and the Republican party. The development of a "suburban" way of life in the South has been accompanied by a rapidly ascending Republican vote (from 18 per cent in the 1932 presidential election to 37 per cent in 1952, to 49 per cent in 1964). It is precisely the suburban areas of the South—around Houston, Dallas, Atlanta, Louisville, Charlotte, Arlington, Columbia, Chattanooga, Memphis, Miami, St. Petersburg—that have produced the new breed of Southern Republican congressmen, usually much more conservative than the Democrats they replace. The same holds true for the younger conservative GOPers from the Midwest and West. The Los Angeles - Orange County complex in Southern California, suburbia incarnate, is perhaps the most conservative area in the nation.

The net result of suburbanization is clearly not in the direction of liberalism. Whatever the political theorists may say about the "needs" of these people in terms of governmental services, they are obviously moving toward increased conservatism; they don't like federal intervention, high taxes or inflation; they prefer to have their "needs" fulfilled at the local level. Nor does the hoped-for repopulation of the central cities through urban renewal offer much prospect for reversing the trend. Such a development, if it were to come about, would merely serve to reinfuse middle-class conservative attitudes into a portion of the downtown electorate. In the interim, it has served to disillusion a number of underprivileged voters with the alleged beneficence of the federal planners.

**What is true of the assertedly liberalizing influence of "urbanization" is also true of the descending median age of the electorate. There is no reason why an increasingly youthful voting public necessarily means increasing liberalism. It is true that younger voters have for several decades leaned heavily toward the Democratic and liberal side of things, but there is mounting evidence that this is no longer the case. Precisely as younger voters are becoming more influential in our politics, there has also been a notable shift of youthful sentiment to the right.**

The growth of the young conservative movement on U.S. campuses, which first became apparent around 1960, has continued at an impressive pace in recent years. To cite only one example, the conservative Intercollegiate Studies Institute, which entered the 60s with a few thousand members, now has an estimated enrollment of nearly 40,000. Its annual increase is in fact more than the entire claimed membership of the widely publicized left-wing group, Students for a Democratic Society.



**The election of Ronald Reagan, a political newcomer, as governor of the nation's largest state, highlights the growth of conservatism in the West.**

Continued on next page



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Direct political evidence of youthful conservatism is the performance of the half-million-member Young Republican National Federation, now so dependably conservative in rank-and-file sentiment that frustrated senior-party liberals are demanding it be abolished altogether.

At this year's Omaha convention, conservative candidates won by the biggest margins ever, the delegates voted through the most conservative platform in the organization's history, and young enthusiasts made the welkin ring for Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan. Similar tendencies have been displayed in the College Republican National Committee, where the drift toward conservatism became marked even before it made its impress on the YRNF.

Out of these ranks have come a whole new echelon of Republican congressmen and other officeholders, including such people as Representatives John Ashbrook of Ohio, Bill Brock of Tennessee, Buz Lukens of Ohio, Bill Steiger of Wisconsin, and state legislators such as Sen. Marlin McDaniel of Indiana (minority leader of the state senate), Sen. Tom Van Sickle of Kansas, Rep. John Alden of Vermont, and countless others.

What has been the impact of these developments on American young people at large? The answer is that, with the YRNF and the college group in conservative hands, and with that fact well-publicized and relentlessly denounced by the liberal media, more college students are willing to declare themselves Republicans today than at any other time in recent years.

According to a survey conducted by George Gallup, published May 30, there are now as many Republicans as Democrats among American collegians. Asked, "In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?" student respondents gave the following replies: 29 per cent Republican, 29 per cent Democrat, 42 per cent independent. A similar poll the preceding year gave the Democrats 35 per cent, with only 26 per cent saying they were Republicans.

What the ultimate direction of youthful political enthusiasms may be is of course a debatable issue; the data cited above suggest, but do not prove, that the direction may be conservative. The question remains open, and will no doubt be determined by the relative effectiveness of conservative and liberal presentations to young people in the years to come. In the meantime, there is no reason to assume that the mere fact of an increasingly youthful electorate mandates a liberal stance by the Republican party or anybody else.

Even on its own terms, therefore, the liberal argument-from-population is not very persuasive. But it becomes even less imposing when one examines the greatest single fact of population movement in America today—a fact which the liberal theoreticians, claiming to discuss the question of population in depth, entirely omit. This is America's great Westward migration—which even more decisively than the growth of the suburbs points the way toward conservative, not liberal, politics.

With few exceptions, Republican liberals are oriented to the East Coast. They think New York state is the key to winning elections, the giant political powerhouse which can carry everything before it. Just as New York is the implicit standard of "urban" living, so is it the implicit model for big-city voting patterns. Liberals talking about what Republicans "must" do to win in the big-city states predicate their analysis on what is necessary to sway the leftward-leaning electorate of New York and its East Coast satellites.

But the shift of population away from the East has rendered this thinking obsolete. New York, Pennsylvania and New

**Liberal Republicans such as Nelson Rockefeller (left) and Jacob Javits seem to have little political appeal west of the Hudson River.**

Jersey are decreasingly able to dominate Republican conventions and national elections. The American people, following the impulse that has ruled them since they touched down at Jamestown and Plymouth Rock, are heading West. The population parade is rapidly leaving New York and other Eastern states behind.

What has been happening over the long pull may be simply demonstrated by tracing the movement of the geographical center of population across a map of the United States. In 1790, this hypothetical balance point was a spot some 23 miles east of Baltimore, Md. By 1860, it was 20 miles south by east of Chillicothe, Ohio. In 1900, it was six miles northeast of Columbus, Ind. In 1960, it was only 50 miles east of St. Louis, and still heading west.

That Westward-tending mythical dot symbolizes a revolutionary change in political power relationships. It means that the northeastern quadrant of the United States, where liberalism is most firmly entrenched, is growing at a pace considerably slower than the other sectors of the country—and drastically below the growth-rate of the West. The East, between 1950 and 1960, grew in population by 13.2 per cent; the Midwest and the South, by 16.1 per cent and 16.5 per cent, respectively. The burgeoning West, by a whopping 38.9 per cent.

If these trends continue in the decades ahead, the once-mighty East could well become the least populous section of the country. Consider these figures: Between 1940 and 1960, the population of the Eastern quadrant increased from 36 million to 45 million. In the same period, the Midwest increased from 40 million to 52 million; the South, from 42 million to 55 million; and the West—doubling in size—from 14 million to 28 million. The day when demographic realities will demand a Western-oriented rather than Eastern-oriented politics is not far distant.

**What kind of politics do they favor out West? Not, it develops, the Rockefeller-Javits-Lindsay line preached in the GOP Senate report. On the contrary, California celebrated its arrival as the largest state in the Union by taking a decided turn to the political right, and electing conservative standard-bearer Ronald Reagan as its governor.**

California, above all, is the prototype of what urban-suburban America is going to be in the years to come. Less decisive, but also suggestive of the way things are going out West, is the fact that among the half-dozen or so new GOP governors elected there in 1966, most (Williams of Arizona, Hathaway of Wyoming, Samuelson of Idaho, Laxalt of Nevada) are conservative.

As it is, the predominantly conservative areas of the nation taken together have massive superiority over the liberal East if and when they co-ordinate their interests and political aspirations. So steady has been the movement of American population West and South that an analysis of the existing "big-city states," as of the 1960 census, shows the balance swinging perceptibly toward the conservative areas of the country.

It is usually assumed that the big-city states must be liberal in politics. This may have been true once, but it is obviously true no longer. If we examine a list of the 10 largest states in the Union, we discover there are as many of these with generally conservative political inclinations as there are with liberal leanings. The generally liberal states, in terms of national politics and internal GOP power relationships, are New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, New Jersey and Massachusetts. The generally conservative states are California, Illinois, Ohio, Texas and Florida.

The fact that these 10 states split evenly is in itself instructive, but for several reasons underplays the growing strength of the conservative element. Population relationships among them are not static. They are constantly changing—in favor of the conservatives. With California leading the way, the Western and Southern states have moved ahead of the Eastern ones in aggregate population.

In 1950, the five generally liberal states had a comfortable population bulge over their more conservative counterparts—41,226,000 to 37,727,000. By 1960 the relationship was reversed. The generally liberal states had increased their aggregate population to 47,140,000; but the generally conservative ones had shot forward to an aggregate population of 50,036,000—a total increase of more than 12 million.

Even the foregoing tends to stack the analysis in favor of the liberal position, since liberal strength is considerably greater in these top 10 states than it is further down the line.

A rollcall of the next 10 states in terms of population size leads us directly into the Midwest and South, where conservative political muscle is far more prominent. These states, with an aggregate 1960 population of 38,905,000, are, in order: Indiana, North Carolina, Missouri, Virginia, Wisconsin, Georgia, Tennessee, Minnesota, Alabama and Louisiana.

**YRNF Chairman Jack McDonald (left), and Rep. Buz Lukens (R.-Ohio) are active in attracting younger voters to the GOP.**

All of these except Minnesota have a recent history of conservatism within the Republican party, and that state elected a conservative Republican, Harold Levander, as its governor in 1966. Six of the 10 (Indiana, Virginia, Wisconsin, Georgia, Alabama and Louisiana) may reasonably be expected to give their electoral votes to an attractive conservative Republican candidate in future elections. And, depending on local circumstances, Tennessee and North Carolina might well do likewise.

This Westward-conservative thrust of American political power has been well summed up by a man who has become a casualty of it. Former Idaho Gov. Robert Smylie, a "moderate" Republican, wound up casting an unwilling delegate vote for Barry Goldwater at the 1964 Republican National Convention, and subsequently found himself being ousted from office by a conservative Republican opponent. Smylie reflected on the new Western conservatism, and Eastern failure to reckon with it, in an interview with Theodore White.

"This continent tilts," Smylie said. "But Easterners don't recognize it. You have an 'overflight' complex. You think the first stop after Idlewild is Los Angeles. You don't recognize the condition of explosive growth and development—and Kennedy did more to emphasize the fact that you don't care than anybody. What did he care about the little mountain states of the West?

**"Our state of Idaho has only one trade mission abroad—in Tokyo. It's Idaho wheat that makes the Japanese kids grow so fast—and we sell it, we don't give it away. We can get a pretty good-sized loan in San Francisco these days; we don't have to go to New York. If I buy stock, I'm more apt to do it through Schwabacher and Co. in San Francisco than with Merrill Lynch."**

The westward and southerly migration of people and voting power, the growth of the middle-class suburbs—these are the great central facts of American politics today. Taken together, they suggest new and dazzling opportunities for Republican conservatives. For New York and the liberal East, the Republican sun is in decline. It will rise again, if it rises at all, in the West.


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# African Independence: A Disaster in Disguise?

## *Black Africa is worse off today than before the loud cries for 'Uhuru'*

By ELSPETH HUXLEY

*(What has independence meant for Africa? Has it brought more freedom, more prosperity, more stability than under the old colonial governments? In the following controversial article, a British expert says independence has brought mostly tragedy and disillusionment, and tells why. Mrs. Huxley has lived in and studied Africa for many years and is the author of* With Forks and Hope, On the Edge of the Rift, The Flame Trees of Thika *and other books on Africa.)*

London, July 15:—Congo chaos, Nigerian breakup, strife in the Sudan, war between Kenya and Somalia; in the last 18 months, 10 governments overthrown and military regimes established—why? The only surprise about this situation is that anyone is surprised. When, in the space of a few years, three out of the four colonial powers that, between them, had ruled that continent pulled out, everything began to fall to bits because the factor that had held them together disappeared almost overnight.

**Colonialism may be a dirty word, but it spelled law and order. It imposed a discipline on all sorts of different peoples who spoke different languages, had different religions, beliefs and cultures, and were often bitter foes. They did not ask to be united and probably would have much preferred to go on fighting each other as they had for centuries.**

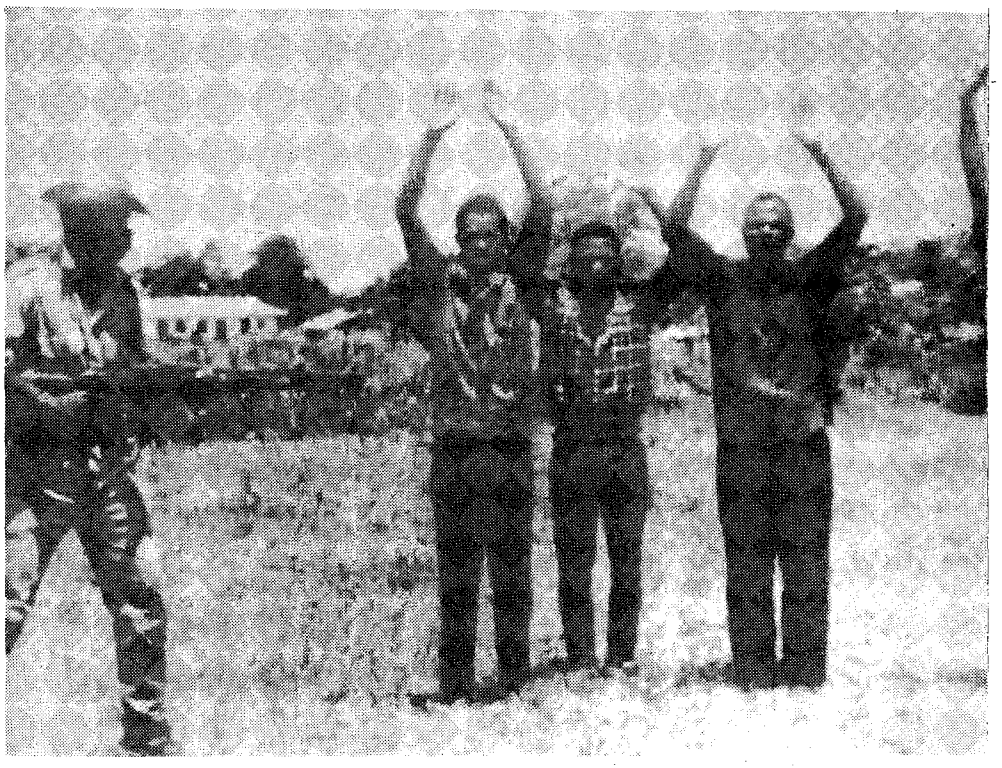
The colonial powers put a stop to tribal migrations, wars, raids and conquests which had formed the pattern of African life since time began, and made a start in building a genuine unity through education, central government and a common tongue (French or English) to bridge the thousands of dialects that had hitherto kept each tribe apart from the other.

They made a start—they did not finish. They did not have time. World opinion turned against colonialism, off went foreign yokes and through the golden gate of independence marched the people into the promised land. And then—where was the milk and honey? Not

**The Congo has erupted once again into chaos, this time while Joseph Mobutu (above) holds the reins of power.**

there. Milk and honey, even dry bread and cornpone, had always been in short supply. Such increase as there was had resulted mainly from the efforts of colonialists to persuade peasants and herdsmen to use less primitive methods.

Now there was not only no milk and honey, there were no colonialists any more to blame for empty stomachs, lack of jobs, too few schools, bad seasons, cattle plagues, taxes—for all the other



**In the course of the Nigerian strife, rebel troops surrender to a Nigerian soldier in the secessionist Biafra region.**

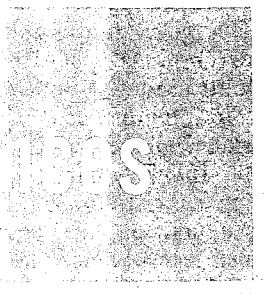
realities that not merely stayed the same after *Uhuru*, but grew worse.

The newly independent states got new men who put them into office got thinner gruel, higher taxes and more children. Nothing was changed for the tribesman with his hoe and his wife plodding through the bush bent under a load of firewood except, in general, for the worse. Disillusionment set in like gangrene and it is far from having run its course.

The first outward sign of this was the breakup of the larger political units created by the colonialists. The East African High Commission was the first to go. Now it is the turn of Nigeria. There was no such country until the British created it, for reasons of administrative efficiency and trade.

They put under one umbrella various Negro tribes dwelling in the swamps, jungles and riverine settlements of the coast; mixed Negro and Hamitic kingdoms of the Middle Belt who were just as pagan but politically more organized; and Muslim, Hausa-speaking non-Negros of the plains bordering the Sahara, where sophisticated emirs in embroidered robes inhabiting ancient walled cities ruled despotically over tightly controlled states linked to the Arab world by time-worn caravan routes across the Sahara.

This three-fold partnership was not


There are approximately 2,000-3,000 people who by their influence or votes will determine the choice of the Republican presidential candidate in 1968. They are party leaders in the states, GOP members of Congress, governors, national committeemen and women and many people without party or public office who have influence in the party or upon public opinion.

**Many already have positive opinions about the qualifications of Gov. George Romney. Others are probably weighing the pros and cons. Almost all are reticent about expressing a choice at this time.**

There are three questions that predominate in the calculations of political professionals in weighing the qualifications of any aspirant:

Is he likely to win enough delegate strength to get the nomination? This is important, because no politician wants to be caught chasing a lost cause.

If nominated, what sort of campaign can he mount against so tough and experienced a warrior as LBJ?

A conscientious minority of politicians looks beyond and asks whether the aspirant is qualified to bear a President's many responsibilities. The majority, however, asks that question in a more practical way. Will the aspirant, if elected President, be likely to recognize loyal party workers in his disposition of jobs and other patronage?

The answers to all these questions are involved in Romney's record.

Romney's refusal to support the choice of his party in 1964 was his major mistake. The practical facts of life should have prevented him from seeking the highest honor a party could bestow from the very people who remained loyal that year.

He certainly could not be elected without the enthusiastic support of some 15 or 20 million voters who are loyal and dedicated Republicans. Without that hard GOP core he could not win, for there aren't enough independents and unhappy Democrats to elect anyone.

Romney's party apostasy in 1964 raises another question among party reg-

**Gov. Romney's muddling on Viet Nam raises the question of just what kind of campaign he would run.**

ulars. They will look beyond the election and conclude that, if elected President, he would disregard their claims for jobs and patronage in return for party service. To a degree, President Eisenhower took that course, and the result was a steady deterioration of Republican strength from 1953 to 1960.

Romney's equivocations about the war in Viet Nam bear upon the answers to the three questions stated above.

For a long time after he was actively seeking the nomination Romney refused to take a position on the war. Then in February this year he said that the Adminstration's policy was "clumsy, ill-timed and poorly co-ordinated" and that "it was a mistake to get involved in a land war."

Two weeks later he said, "Sometimes a man knows enough about a situation not to take premature positions." But a few sentences later he said he would remain silent "until I know the situation thoroughly."

**In April he apparently knew enough to endorse President Johnson's position. Withdrawal was "unthinkable." Mr. Johnson welcomed what he believed to be an endorsement, but Romney denied that it was one.**

Most recently, however, in a prepared statement he came out for a "de-escalation of our bombing of the north" and favored addititional forces to provide "a military security for the pacification program."

That record of ambiguity and self-contradiction runs counter to the views of the GOP congressional leadership and once more demonstrates a divergence from his party's positions.

One can imagine how Mr. Johnson in a campaign would attack such a record and how difficult it might be for his Republican supporters to follow the meanderings of such a presidential candidate if he were nominated.

It is not, as is charged in Lansing, that the press has "de-escalated" Romney's chances for the nomination. It is George Romney himself.

Republicans have wisely supported the war. They have differed on some of the Administration's tactics. But the bombing of the north is not a detail. It is an essential factor in the war's whole strategy.

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set up until 1914. Nigeria attained independence in 1960—less than 50 years later.

Half a century is not long enough to make a nation out of people who have hated and fought each other for hundreds of years. Only the strong personality of Nigeria's former prime minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, held the federation together for six years. He was assassinated early in 1966 by followers of Gen. Ironsi. This was a revolt of the Negro southerners, mainly Ibo, against the non-Negro, Muslim northerners of whom Sir Abubakar was one.

Then the northerners struck back. Ironsi was in turn assassinated, and in the northern region, where over half of Nigeria's 50 millions live, thousands of Ibos were massacred. Back to Ibo-land the Ibos fled, to the protection of their own Col. Ojukwu, sustained by oil revenues. The eastern region became the independent state of Biafra, and now there is a civil war as Gen. Yakubu Gowon, head of the erstwhile federation, attempts to reconquer the breakaway state.

It is the same story in the giant Congo, torn by rebellion, mutiny, strife

**Former Katanga strongman Moise Tshombe leaves an Algerian courtroom after learning he was to be extradited to the Congo.**

and atrocities ever since the Belgians left in 1960, and in tiny Rwanda and Burundi, where Hutu tribesmen have massacred Watusi in tens of thousands and assassinated each other.

It is the same in the Sudan, where civil war has continued for 10 years between Arab-speaking, Nasser-orientated northerners and pagan, partially Christianized southerners. These are the countries where the powder-keg has exploded. In others, the explosion has not yet taken place, but fuses are smoldering and may reach the dynamite at any moment.

**Only in those areas where colonialism or paternalism remains—South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal's Angola and Mozambique—is law and order relatively stable: At the price, in Portugal's case, of constant military action against guerrilla "freedom fighters" trained by Communists in Algeria, Tanzania and the Congo, which necessitates a four-years' draft for every Portuguese male.**

We are seeing now the start of the third stage of de-colonialization. Stage one was the coming of *Uhuru*: Flags, national anthems, speeches, cheers, the dawn of a new day. Stage two was disillusion, with discontent expressed politically: A power struggle culminating in the setting-up of single-party states by those political leaders who came out on top—Nkrumah, Nyerere, Obote, Balewa, Kenyatta, Banda, Sekou Toure, Houphouet-Boigny. Some of these are still on top, but some are tottering and others have been overthrown.

Stage three, now arriving patchily, is the military take-over. This occurs because the armed forces are the only united, disciplined bodies capable of seizing power and holding it. Whoever controls the army and police controls the country. In a democracy the armed forces are controlled by the elected representatives of the people. In a non-democracy, when things get rough the army steps in and controls the people. That is stage three.

These countries never were true democracies. The colonial powers tried to transfer their own political beliefs and systems lock, stock and barrel to an Africa that was unprepared for them. Not only were most of the people illiterate, the whole idea was alien; they were accustomed to being ruled, in the main, by chiefs, kings and witch-doctors.

The colonial powers were political missionaries, preaching the gospel of one man, one vote. It just didn't work. Africa was too divided, too tribalist, too custom-bound, too steeped in tradition.

Most Africans are deeply conservative. Why should they abandon all their own time-honored customs, beliefs and ways of governing themselves at the drop of a colonial hat? As soon as they took over control of their own affairs, most of the carefully planned, complex, power-balancing constitutions left behind by the departing French and British went out of the window. Africans reverted to their own ideas: Instant Democracy failed.

Africans say they have their own forms of democracy. The tribal system had great flexibility. There were despotic chiefs delighting in human sacrifice, but also open societies where every adult male had his say in tribal councils. Sometimes a priest-king ruled, sometimes a witchdoctor, sometimes a whole generation of the senior age-grade. There was no one set pattern.

**Government by consent was more general than the "off-with-his-head" practice of Carroll's Red Queen. If the colonial powers had tried to adapt their democratic systems more imaginatively to African conditions, maybe things would have worked out better. Their defense is they did not have time.**

Stage four? That will come when Africans themselves have worked out their own patterns, according to the differing inclinations of different peoples, regions and tribes. There will be no one pattern for all Africa. I doubt if they will give up fighting each other any more than Asians, Europeans or even Americans have given up fighting—perhaps even less so. A new order cannot be created to replace an old, collapsed one quickly, smoothly or without violence.

There is one other possibility—the reconquest of Africa. Many Africans fear neo-colonialism from the West. A new colonialism from the East is still a very tiny bogey and it may remain so. But divided, war-torn, substandard nations constitute a political vacuum. If they also possess natural resources worth exploiting, they tempt the powerful, as they have always done. There is an old Swahili saying that when pipes are played in Zanzibar, people deep in the continent dance to the tune. Mao's men now control Zanzibar.

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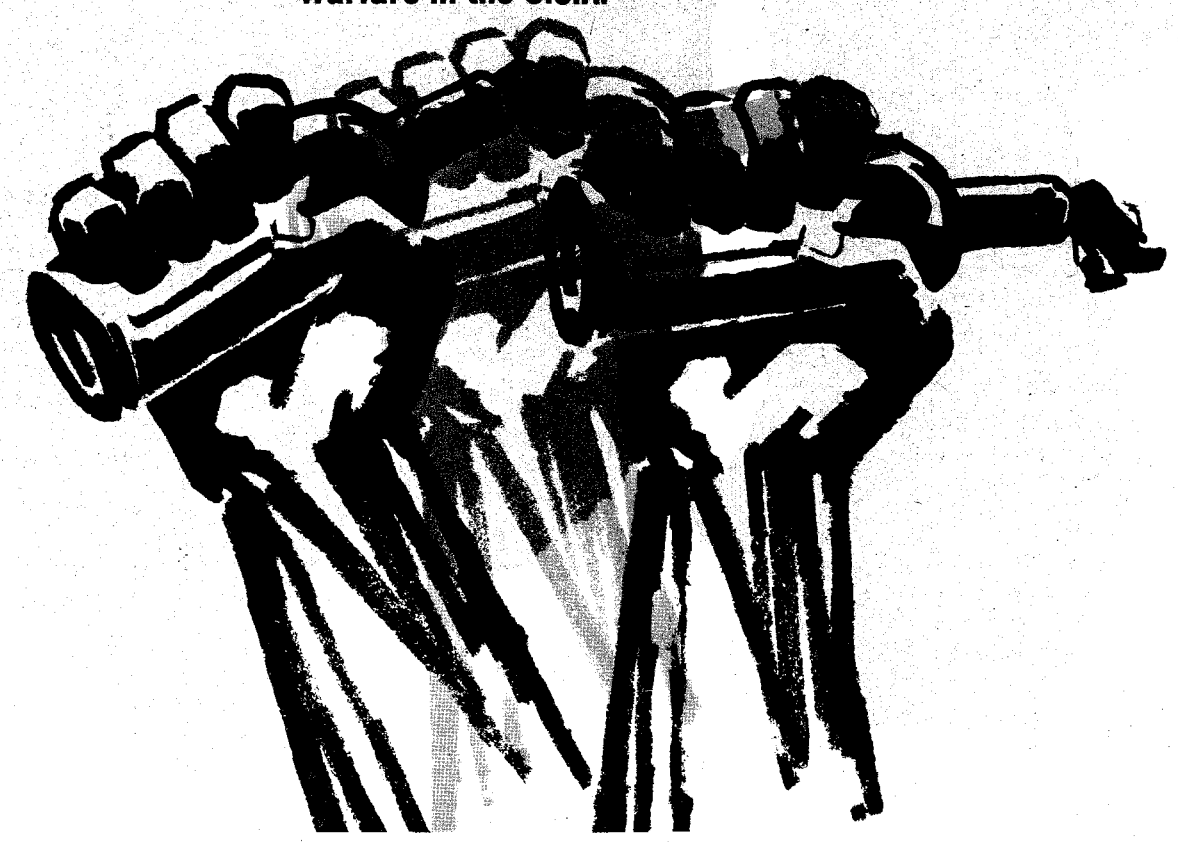
In June of 1964, just one month before the Harlem Riots shocked the American people into the realization that a racial civil war was possible in this country, Phillip Abbott Luce, the author of this book, met with four others in a secluded area of Central Park, New York City, to discuss the possibility of creating a guerrilla operation in the Negro ghettos. They were all Communists, members of the pro-Chinese Communist Progressive Labor Movement. Four of the five had been to Cuba the summer before. Later, all were briefed on individual responsibilities and each one armed with a pistol, having been told that groundwork had already been laid for the guerrilla operation. • In 1965, Phillip Abbott Luce left the world of Communism. He has since authored THE NEW LEFT and numerous articles which have appeared in *THE READER'S DIGEST, THE SATURDAY EVENING POST, NATIONAL REVIEW* and other publications. As a former member of a hard-core Communist organization, Mr. Luce's "behind the scenes" report in this, his latest book, has a vital and prophetic significance for all thinking Americans. BEHIND THE SCENES REPORT; COMMUNIST GUERRILLA WARFARE IN U.S. CITIES, PLUS, A DETAILED "COUNTER PLAN" TO PREVENT FURTHER SPREADS OF VIOLENCE, IN PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE'S *A VITAL NEW BOOK FOR THE SUMMER OF 1967*

Road to Revolution:
Communist Guerrilla Warfare in the U.S.A.





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# Soviet Persecution of Churches Continues

By ALLAN C. BROWNFELD in *Christian Economics*

It is often said in the West that while communism during the days of Stalin was brutal, today it is different, and that while Christians and Jews in the Soviet Union and elsewhere in Eastern Europe did not have the right to practice their religion freely in those days, that today they do.

Often the constitution of the USSR is quoted, but rarely is its real meaning made known. Under Article 124 of that constitution there is a guarantee of "Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda." Clearly omitted is what would be termed "religious propaganda," meaning that while atheism may publicly be preached, religion may not.

**The law, in addition, makes it clear that "religious freedom" is only for those who have attained the age of 21. Thus, baptism, Communion and religious instruction are forbidden, while atheism is regularly advanced in schools, clubs and social groups.**

In Lithuania, for example, Father Vytautas Balciunas of Salanti was sentenced to forced labor in Siberia for "enticing children and arranging an outing for altar boys," and in January 1965 Father Valeatinas Sikshys, pastor at Pagramantis, drew a two-year prison sentence for giving children First Communion.

Churches which have not already been closed are now government property, are classified as places of amusement, and are taxed according to the plot of land they occupy. The Lutheran Church at Vilnius has been made into a Communist youth headquarters and the church at Jurbakas is now a jail. Cemeteries have been made into athletic fields, and what religion continues to exist has been forced underground.

The Communists continue to claim that religious freedom exists, yet their own news media tell quite a different story. *Pravda Ukraini* for Oct. 3, 1966, tells the story of "Brother Prokofiev" who has already been in prison three times, but as soon as he was released, he began to organize secret Sunday Schools again. The result was a fourth arrest.

*Sovietscaia Moldavia* for Sept. 15, 1966, complains that Christians have secretly been mimeographing booklets. They are charged with gathering together in public places, although it is forbidden by law, and recounts that in the train from Reni to Chisinau, three young boys and four girls sang a Christian hymn, "Let us dedicate our youth to Christ." The newspaper charged that the Christians of the villages of Copceag and Zaharovka, having no churches, organized a divine service secretly in the forest. They also organized meetings in their houses under the pretense that they are having a birthday party.

*Uchitelskaiai Gazeta* for Feb. 19, 1966, said that the "illegal" Baptist organization in Rostov has an underground printing press, and that publications are printed in which youth are called to stand for their faith. The paper asks: "Why do teachers mix so timidly in the life of families in which children are idiotized [by religion]?"

*Pavada Vostoka* published news of the trial of Alexei Neverov, Boros Garmashov and Axen Zubov, who organized groups to listen to Gospel broadcasts from America. They recorded these messages on tapes, which they later circulated and were also accused of having organized secret Gospel meetings under the form of "excursions" and artistic "circles."

*Sowjetskais Russia* recounts how the Baptist Marinkowa has had six children taken away from her because she gave them the Christian faith and forbade them to wear the Communist pioneer necktie. When she heard the sentence, she said only, "I suffer for my faith." She now has to pay the boarding school bills of her children who are now in a state institution which preaches a militant atheism.

*Ucitelskaia Gazeta* tells the same story with reference to Ignatii Mullin and his wife. The judge demanded that they leave their faith. He said: "Choose between God and your daughter. Do you choose God?" The father answered: "I will not give up my faith."

As recently as May 16, 1966, some 500 delegates of the churches from 130 towns assembled before the building of the Central Committee of the Communist party in Moscow to protest against the repression of religion. A letter which

**Rev. Richard Wurmbrand fled Rumania to escape religious persecution. The agony of his experiences is clear as he testifies before a congressional committee.**

reached this country, signed by 116 members of the Baptist Church of Kiev, described the incident.

**"The men of the KGB, the Russian secret police, soldiers and regular policemen surrounded the brethren and beat their heads to the wall and to the asphalt, they strangled them, they beat them with bottles on their heads, etc. All of this happened in the presence of a multitude of assembled men." The fate of those who participated in this meeting is unknown.**

The role of education in Communist countries is clearly that of indoctrinating young people in a militant atheistic philosophy. Lithuanian Communist Party Secretary A. Barkauskas made this clear in a meeting of the Central Communist Committee, Feb. 12 and 13, 1963. He stated: "Without exception, all graduates of secondary and technical schools must be deeply convinced and active atheists. Newspapers must dwell extensively on atheistic topics. In literary works, whatever the theme being developed, must run a red thread of atheistic anti-clericalism."

The city of Moscow, with more than seven million inhabitants, has one Baptist, one Orthodox, and one Adventist church, and these without Sunday Schools, and with no religious literature available. They are, recent visitors to the Soviet Union have stated, simply there for the benefit of Western visitors, and all too often they believe that the existence of these churches in some way truly means that religious freedom exists.

Dr. W. A. Criswell of the First Baptist Church in Dallas, Tex., visited the Soviet Union two years ago and stated that these churches "are the only ones that the government allows to be open and they are open only that the government might say there is religious liberty in the Soviet Union. The rest have been closed by Soviet decree, and the situation is worsening."

In the face of such reports, which are often directly from the Communist press itself and dated as recently as several months ago, many church leaders in the West persist in believing that somehow religious freedom has begun to exist for those who live under communism.

At a recent conference in Wiesbaden, Germany, concerning "Christian Churches and Totalitarian Rule," Prof. Will Herberg, author of the book *Protestant, Catholic, Jew,* and professor of theology at Drew University, presented this assessment: "Some Christian leaders have even allowed themselves to become so bemused with the idea of socialism as a kind of wave of the future and with the 'liberal' delusion that the enemy is always on the right that they cannot see the flagrantly totalitarian character of the Soviet, East German, Chinese and other Communist regimes, and tend to adopt attitudes running from friendly 'neutralism' and critical cooperation to outright support."

Lest any be truly misled as to the state of religious freedom in the Communist world today, it is important to review the most current material which has been received.

**At this very moment men are languishing in prison and suffering in labor camps for the "crimes" of distributing Bibles, holding Sunday Schools and preaching the Gospel. By no means is this what free men mean when they speak of religious liberty, unless, of course, words have ceased to be identified any longer with the concepts which gave them birth.**

And it is a world turned upside down in which, as one former prisoner in Communist jails stated, the National Council of Churches can call for the admission of Communist China to the United Nations but not say a word about the murder of Catholic priests and Protestant ministers by the Red Guard.

We revere the saints and martyrs of years past, but seem to have little compassion for the saints and martyrs of today who sacrifice everything for their faith. We would rather believe that, somehow, communism is changing. . Unfortunately for all, this is not the case.

# How U.S. Labor Laws Have Failed

By HENRY HAZLITT

Our Railway Labor Act of 1934 brought us to the very catastrophe it had been framed to avert—a nationwide railroad strike.

It did not even require a declared strike of all the railroad workers to bring this stoppage about. Only one of the six shopcraft unions, the machinists, representing barely one in 25 railway workers, was technically on strike. All the rest stayed away under the euphemism of "honoring the picket lines."

**So with the gun of a nationwide railroad strike pointed at its head, Congress passed an ad hoc law imposing compulsory arbitration "just this once."**

Let us see what the consequences of this new law will be. The existing Railway Labor Act already provided for the appointment of a presidential emergency board to recommend a settlement. The President appointed such a board to prevent a strike of the shopcraft unions. It brought in its recommendations. The railroads accepted them. The unions turned them down.

Then, at President Johnson's request, Congress twice extended the strike deadline, once for 20 days and then for 47 days. A special presidential panel offered the unions still more. They turned down this offer, too. Even the railroads turned down this new recommendation, because it went well beyond the general settlement of more than 5 per cent a year that the railroads had already signed with all their other unions, representing 74 per cent of their workers.

Under the new law the President has appointed still another board to mediate the dispute. If there is no agreement within 60 days, the new five-man panel will recommend settlement terms, and these terms will take effect at the end of 30 or more days if no settlement is negotiated.

It does not take much imagination to foresee what is going to happen. In order to insure compliance, the new board will probably recommend settlement terms even more in the unions' favor than the two sets they have already rejected. Once more unions will be richly rewarded for obduracy, and for striking against the public.

Thus the new law merely extends the pattern repeatedly established under the old Railway Labor Act. The unions have found again and again—in 1941, 1946, 1959, 1962 and 1963—that by contemptuously rejecting the wage awards of governmental boards, they can get themselves a still better offer.

The public has paid a high price over the last 40 years for the procedures of the Railway Labor Act. It will pay a still higher price for the new law. If compulsory arbitration was necessary to settle the last railway strike, won't it also be necessary to settle the next strike or strike threat? And the next, and the next?

And when compulsory arbitration has been established for railway labor, won't precedent, logic and consistency suggest that it be extended to all strikes that impose serious hardship on the public? And won't this lead to demands for price and profit controls, to government seizure of the railroads and other industries, and a drift toward a regimented economy?

**How did we get to the point where compulsory arbitration of wages is deemed necessary? We started toward it a generation ago when Congress decided that all our labor troubles came because our unions were not big enough or strong enough and had too little bargaining power.**

So Congress granted the unions one-sided legal immunities and privileges and imposed one-sided compulsions and penalties on employers. The result is that the unions now have everything to gain and practically nothing to lose by exorbitant demands and trigger-happy strikes.

Yet people are surprised when that is exactly what we are getting.

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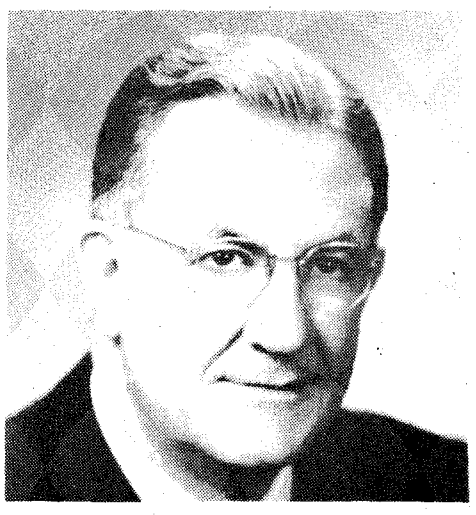

Sen. Edward Long (D.-Mo.)

James R. Hoffa

# Teamster Hierarchy Uneasy About Senate Probe of Long

By VICTOR RIESEL

For years under Jimmy Hoffa the free-wheeling Teamsters had a flair for flack—skyrocketing, explosive publicity and Madison Avenue image-making—not the least of which was "movie" production. Now one of those films haunts them. It stars the 59-year-old angry gentleman from Missouri, Sen. Edward Long.

**It's a one-character script written by the beleaguered Long himself, during which he excoriates federal agencies, praises Jim Hoffa and warns darkly of a coming police state.**

In the picture, Long is a natural. He plays himself, since it is a live "take" of the delivery of his almost hour-long (18 pages of the official transcript) speech at the Teamsters Brotherhood's four-day 19th convention which started July 4, 1966.

In this talk he seems eager to tell the whooping crowd how thrilled he is to be on the platform with the "dynamic and fighting" Hoffa, who introduced him in glowing and fraternal rhetoric.

Sen. Long—now being examined behind the scenes by the Senate Select Committee on Standards and Conduct (ethics committee) which dealt with Tom Dodd—told the vast throng of delegates that the Teamsters can count on him whenever they need him because he knows where they stand and they know where he stands. At the moment this is a precarious perch.

The movie has been shown at a series of Teamsters local parleys and conferences of DRIVE (Democratic, Republican, Independent Voters Education), the moving spirit of which was the late paymaster Sidney Zagri, political dispenser of money and manpower in critical campaigns.

Today the Teamsters' national leadership would like to forget the era of bombast, spectaculars, denunciation of the government, feuds with the White House and the Hatfield-McCoy relationship with the Justice Department. And now least of all do they want to be involved in another headline-rocking, televised sensation reminiscent of the old Sen. McClellan hearings. That's why they fear the investigations by Sen. Stennis' ethics committee of Ed Long's relationship with the old Teamsters regime and one of Hoffa's special counsels, St. Louis' Morris Shenker.

The ethics committee, having finished with Dodd, now is microscoping the Shenker-Long affair. The attorney paid the senator $2,000 monthly during 1963 and 1964—for a total of $48,000. Shenker is a man of national repute as a criminal lawyer as well as counsel to Teamsters officials—including some of Hoffa's aides and colleagues—during a tough taxi strike and the McClellan hearings.

**This is Shenker's privilege at the bar. But the Senate Committee now wants to know the full nature of Long's relationship to Shenker, the payments and the Teamsters who always supported Long and plan to back him for re-election next year.**

The Missouri senator had a penchant for making the rounds praising Hoffa, insinuating the imprisoned bantam chief was framed, and warning the Teamsters and their families that they may be bugged by hidden electronic gadgets. During earlier speeches Sen. Long would pound the podium and tell Hoffa what an exciting man he was and how the Teamsters' general president delighted his friends, amazed his enemies and "keep on fighting them, Jimmy."

Many in the Teamsters' high command remember how close Sen. Long has been to the Brotherhood's infra-power structure and "Jimmy's" special man who headed "Jimmy's" special and personal apparatus around the land.

This is the apparatus and the image the men of the Teamsters' General Executive Board now want to wipe out. So far from the Hoffa flack tradition have they gone that for the first time in years they did not hold one of their routine board meetings in a Miami Beach "Gold Coast" hotel. They did not even tell the press they were meeting.

They simply gathered in the Sea View Country Club, in Absecon, N.J., not far from Atlantic City on July 11. There were few of the traditional towel carriers and hangers-on. Even top Teamsters aides were not welcomed. The meetings were mostly in executive sessions. They were quiet, unified and good-humored. No one roared. No little man barked at them or put anyone to indignity and shame. They were delighted to have little in the surroundings remind them of Hoffa. They want less and less of this.

**What disturbed some of them is the upcoming frenetics involving Sen. Long, the Shenker payments to him and the possibility of the decades of the '60s ending as did the '50s—on television.**

And so they came and went quietly, hoping that Hoffa would end his public career silently in prison—or out of it—and would fade away and let them slip back into the obscure, regional, baronial influence they enjoyed before "the Champ" and his flack-men rushed on stage 20 years ago.

But privately they see no hope that the Long affair will disappear any less loudly than did the Dodd furor.

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## FCC Strikes Again

# The Attack on 'Ma Bell'

By LAWRENCE FERTIG

Government regulatory commissions are often overzealous. They frequently harm industry and the American public by their arbitrary decisions. But you would have to search far to find a decision as harmful and arrogant as that of the Federal Communications Commission assailing the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. It lopped off $120 million interstate 'phone charges and opened the door to much deeper cuts along other lines. This ruling constitutes a new low in harmful federal intervention.

Forget for the moment the shattering effect of this ukase on the more than three million stockholders, many of whom have put their life's savings into "Ma Bell." Forget also, if you can, the fears of investors for the rate structure of the public utility industry—and in fact for *all* industry—when they see the government clamp down hard on a company that has served the public so magnificently.

Think for a moment only how the commission's ruling could affect telephone service to the American public. Will the blow at Telephone's earning power actually help or harm that company in performing its public service?

In considering this question, remember that AT&T is one of the most efficient and progressive business organizations in the world. American telephone service is incomparably the best in the world—ask any traveler abroad—and at modest cost. What other service you buy today has remained stationary in price for 11 years despite steeply rising costs to the company?

**The 10¢ telephone call is a phenomenon in modern life. So are long-distance calls. Twenty years ago a 'phone call from San Francisco to New York cost $2.50 for three minutes. Today after 9 p.m. it is $1.00, and during the day $2.00.**

What has been the main ingredient in this remarkable operation? The answer is vast capital investment for the purpose of automating and rendering better service. Last year AT&T invested over $4 *billion*, and in the last 10 years over $30 *billion* in improving and expanding its service to the public. Handling 98 *billion* telephone calls in a year promptly and efficiently would be impossible if these billions were not invested in new plant and equipment, new techniques, skilled personnel, etc.

Does the Federal Communications Commission want to curb this essential investment? Do the commission members themselves know better than the telephone management precisely what rates should be charged in order to attract the capital necessary for improvement and expansion?

Unfortunately, the commission seems to say that this *is* their attitude. It has ordered the company to make no more than 7 per cent to 7½ per cent on its investment. This, mind you, at a time when subsidiaries of AT&T are paying 6 per cent and more to borrow money. There is no guarantee that interest rates will go lower—in fact, they may even go somewhat higher.

**What constitutes investment? For fixing interstate rates the commission disallowed over $742 million which was being used as working capital and plant under construction. If this isn't capital investment, what is it—cabbage?**

Perhaps the most pertinent comment on this shattering decision was made by the United Shareowners of America. The head of this organization, Mr. Ben Javits, is a brother of the U.S. senator. "If Henry Ford," said their statement, "had been prevented from earning a decent rate of return he could never have developed mass production. Do they want the telephone company to go the way of the railroads and the post office? . . . The only real long-term way to reduce rates is by improving the efficiency of both facilities and personnel. This, of course, requires capital investment. Capital investment must be paid for—which is why the telephone company needs a higher rate of return now if it's going to be able to reduce rates in the future."

What can *you* do about this? As a citizen—in the words of Vice President Hubert Humphrey—you can raise unshirted hell. Protest to your U.S. senators. Write to your congressman. Write a letter to the chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, Mr. Rosel Hyde, Washington, D.C., 20554, or address a letter to the commission itself. And, yes—write to the White House. Write to President Johnson telling him what you think. Public pressure may have some effect on a harmful and arrogant ruling of the Federal Communications Commission.

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*Long Memories*

# Fear of New Red Terror Behind Greek Army Coup

By DUMITRU DANIELOPOL in the Monrovia (Calif.) *Daily News-Post*

Athens:—The people of Greece have good reasons to hate communism.

As they put it here, they had "three turns" with the Reds.

Whether the military revolution of April 21 saved Greece from a "fourth turn" or whether it was an exaggerated response to a crumbling political situation may never be proved. But it is not hard to understand why Greeks are nervous about any Communist maneuvers.

Russia eyed Greece as a Red satellite long before the end of World War II. It was the obvious route to the warm waters of the Mediterranean, a means to outflank an always hostile Turkey.

During the war the Communists had two organizations in Greece, the EAM national front of liberation (sounds familiar?) and its military wing, the Elas national popular liberation army.

"They were supposed to fight the Germans, but they had only a few unimportant skirmishes with the Nazis," said a veteran of Greece's guerrilla wars.

**Their main objective was to eliminate the true democratic resistance movements which were fighting the enemy.**

One of these, EDES, was led by Gen. Zervas, another led by Col. Psarros. The latter was destroyed by the Communists in the Greek mountains.

"Psarros was executed, and the anniversary of that date is still celebrated by the Communists in Greece," said an official.

While the Germans held Athens and the big cities, the Reds tortured and killed tens of thousands of Greeks in the provinces when they refused to buy Communist ideas.

The Churchill-Stalin deal or swap that gave Rumania to Russian occupation while the British were to take care of Greece, did not stop the Reds from pushing for their objectives in this country.

They opened the "second turn" with communism as soon as the Germans began to retreat. Athens never saw war until the Nazis left. British and regular Greek army units landed to fight the Germans had instead to take on the hostile Communist guerrillas. The Reds were everywhere.

For 20 days they controlled four-fifths of the city of Athens.

British Prime Minister Winston Churchill on a visit to Greece at that time had to travel in a British tank to be safe from Communist snipers.

**Thousands of Greek hostages—most of them educated—were taken by the Reds and marched northward. Later they were found dead in a collective grave mutilated, tortured. Some had been slashed to death with tin can covers.**

An allied mission, led by Sir Walter Oitrine of Britain, inspected the remains and testified on Communist bestiality.

The Communists lost the "second turn" when Britain spurred in troops and eventually broke the Red reign of terror.

Under allied supervision elections took place in Greece in 1946 and a plebiscite to decide the fate of the exiled King George and the dynasty, was held at the same time. The people voted to return the king to Athens.

But the Communists were not inclined to accept elections and plebiscites. Greece was too big a prize. They soon after opened a new attack on the forces of law and order. The first blow came in March 1948 in an attack on the office of the gendarmerie on Mount Olympus.

This was the kick-off of the "third turn."

It lasted until 1949. This time British help faltered, but President Truman declared the Truman Doctrine and poured in arms and aid that finally turned back the Communists.

"There was not one single American soldier fighting on Greek soil during this period," Greek government officials point out. "We fought our own battle with the help of Gen. James Van Fleet and his advisers, who organized the Greek forces and armed them."

**The war was a long one because the Reds found shelter across the 800-mile frontier Greece has with Communist Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The situation was much like that which confronts U.S. troops on the border of Cambodia.**

The losses to Greece in human life and property were tremendous. They far outstripped World War II damages. The Reds kidnapped 26,000 children in an effort to terrorize and demoralize the country. They deported them to Communist countries where they have been indoctrinated with Marxism to form a potential "fifth column."

One of every three families lost at least one member deported or killed by the Communists.

If these people overreact to new Communists threats, they have good reason.

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**TWO MISSING CHAIRS**—"'Senator Soaper' observed last week that some good came of the Glassboro summit meeting because the college president and his wife got to keep the air conditioners. Now *Insider's Newsletter* reports that President and Mrs. Thomas Robinson lost something, too. New Jersey's Gov. Hughes, host at the conference, was quick to offer the Victorian rocker in which LBJ sat and the small upholstered chair used by Mr. Kosygin to the Smithsonian Institution. Embarrassment clotted quickly. The chairs belonged not to New Jersey but to Mrs. Robinson, and had been in her family for generations. The Robinsons promptly agreed to the donation, however. Then the chairs disappeared. They're not expected at the Smithsonian. The White House won't talk. Newsmen speculate they 'are at the LBJ ranch in Texas.' Back at Glassboro, Mrs. Robinson isn't talking. But it wouldn't be surprising if she counted her silver service."—From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

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**BOBBY KENNEDY** lost a major battle recently when he sought to have the New York State Constitutional Convention lower the voting age to 18. Such a change, he hoped, would have enabled hundreds of thousands of teenyboppers to vote for Bobby when he runs for re-election in 1970 or for President in 1972.

**Although detractors claim the constitutional convention is doomed to failure, Sen. Everett Dirksen notes that five state legislatures are still in session and only two need to approve the measure.**

# Prospects for Constitutional Convention 'Very Much Alive'

By WILLARD EDWARDS

The nation may yet be witness to one of the most colorful, dramatic and potentially explosive spectacles in its history—a national convention to amend the Constitution.

Not entirely in jest, Sen. Dirksen (R.-Ill.) has suggested to Ray Bliss and John Bailey, the two national committee chairmen preparing for the Republican and Democratic presidential conventions in 1968:

"You fellows may have to make room for me. I could have a convention of my own next year."

The possibility of a constitutional convention—the first since the Founding Fathers met in 1787—seemed to have disappeared in recent weeks. Reports were published that a campaign led by Dirksen to bring it into being had been crushed just when victory was imminent.

**Now, the word from five state capitals, relayed to Dirksen, is that prospects are still "very much alive" for approval of petitions requiring Congress to call such a convention.**

Action by only two states is necessary. Thirty-two have already filed official requests and 34 (two-thirds of the 50 states) is the magic number.

This majority appeared certain several months ago when the 32nd state presented its petition. Then an alarmed opposition, with help from the White House, began putting on pressures to prevent two more states from signing up.

The opposition came from forces fearful that such a convention would approve a constitutional amendment blunting the thrust of the Supreme Court's dictum that both houses of a state legislature must be based on a "one-man, one-vote" principle.

If adopted, this amendment would still be ineffective until ratified by three-fourths of the states. But its opponents didn't want such a national test of sentiment. They centered their efforts on blocking two additional states from signing up.

Every political trick in the book was employed. Alaska, for example, was certain to become the 33rd state to petition Congress. A resolution zipped through the House. On the eve of debate in the Senate, three pro-convention senators were lured to depart on a junket to Tokyo. The petition failed by one vote. The legislature then adjourned.

The legislatures of Maine, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan and California are still in session, however, and Dirksen has received pledges of action from powerful groups. Here, too, opponents are equally active. Tales of logrolling and backroom maneuvering are telephoned to Dirksen's office from Augusta, Harrisburg, Columbus, Lansing and Sacramento. He retains confidence that action will be taken in at least two of these five states.

What happens then? Congress might storm and stall, but eventually it would have no choice. Article V of the Constitution is peremptory. When two-thirds of the states apply, Congress "shall call a convention."

When and where would it be held? How would its members be apportioned? Would it be restricted to the one issue of reapportionment or could it proceed to the drafting of other amendments?

**These are questions Congress would have to answer in enabling legislation. The debate would unquestionably feature the fears of opponents that a "constitutional nightmare" would result. They dread the consideration of additional amendments permitting prayer in schools, eliminating pampering of criminals, and limitation of income taxes. All have some popular support.**

The bulk of legal opinion is that the convention, like its single predecessor 180 years ago, could undertake any revision of the Constitution it chose.

It might, as Dirksen suggested, rival the presidential conventions in excitement and turmoil. Its decisions, in the long run, could be far more momentous.

(Chicago *Tribune* Press Service)

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**TO KILL AMERICANS**—"North Vietnamese artillerymen are blasting American positions with new, Soviet-built, self-propelled, long-range guns and rocket launchers. The United States meanwhile is going ahead with plans to equip the Soviet Union with a new automobile plant. Maybe when it is built the plant will be able to turn out more efficient self-propelled, long-range guns and rocket launchers to ship to North Viet Nam—to kill Americans."
—From the Indianapolis *Star*



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***Red Danger Cited***

# Arab-Israeli Boundaries Key to Mideast Future

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

The critical problem for the Arab Middle East today is to hold Israel in perspective. Israel poses a threat, but not the most serious threat. Other forces prowling the world in search of victims constitute a more serious danger to Arab sovereignty.

It is understandable that the Arab peoples resent the Zionist conquest of

**Nasser's defeat so far has not lost him much support in Egypt.**

Palestine, the Zionist expulsion of Arabs from the conquered areas, the political discrimination against Arabs remaining in Israel. They resent most the Zionist claim of a right to make a home for the Jews of the world through expansionist wars against Arab neighbors.

For 20 years, therefore, the Arabs have refused to recognize Israel. They have persisted in a proclaimed determination to restore Palestine to Arab control.

**Can the Arabs wipe out Israel? The possibility exists, if the Arabs can unify and coordinate their total resources. But it is doubtful that they can achieve such unification and concentration of power without selling their souls to the Soviet Union. That would be a greater disaster than anything threatened by Israel.**

The great conflict of this age is between tyranny and freedom. In this struggle, the Arab peoples must be on the side of freedom. History and geography compel it. They lie in the path of Soviet conquest.

The supreme question for Arab leaders must be not the survival of Israel, but the survival of their own governments. If they follow blindly their hostility to Israel, the Soviet Union may use Israel as the anvil on which to crush Arab independence. Can Soviet arming and training of Arab military forces be so controlled by Soviet forces that the Arab states will, like Cuba, lose their independence?

Because the fundamental commitment of the Arab world is to freedom, it must beware of leaders who would exploit hostility to Israel to maneuver an acceptance of Soviet hegemony. The problem of Israel is manageable for the Arabs only within the context of the fundamental interests of the free world.

Some Arab leaders judged U.S. and British support of the 1947 division of Palestine to reflect Western subservience to Zionist pressures. The event did reflect Zionist influence, but it was a mistake to conclude therefrom that the Western states were mere pawns of Zionist power.

In accepting the Israeli conquests of 1946-47, the West was undoubtedly influenced by the recent history of Hitler's persecution of the Jews. This factor would not, of course, excuse new injustice against the Arabs, but it did dispose people of the West to sympathize with the Jewish desire for a national homeland.

It did not follow that the West would support continuing Zionist expansionism in the Middle East. There was a possibility that Israel could have been contained within its mandated borders and forced to repatriate or compensate the displaced Arabs, if the Arab powers had been unified in seeking these objectives.

Now as then, free world influence can be turned against Israeli expansionism once the existence of the basic Israeli state is accepted by the Arab powers. This is the way to contain Israel. This is the way for Arab countries to keep their independence and join in the economic fruits which freedom and private initiative open to all.

It is not to be expected that the Arab states will recognize Israel prior to the settlement of the boundary question. Nor will they grant recognition merely to recover the lands lost in the recent fighting.

The only internationally recognized boundaries of Israel are those of the 1947 partition plan. Other areas now under Israeli rule are the fruits of conquest. It is not to be expected that Israel will restore any of the occupied territory without Arab acceptance of Israel within defined boundaries. Thus, the definition of permanent boundaries for Israel is the crux of the problem of peace in the Middle East.

This is not an insuperable problem. Both Arabs and Israelis had better be aware that the alternative to constructive compromise may be death. The Soviet Union could seize the entire Middle East.

***Hitler, Not Krupp, Made War***

# Learning to Control Government Is Main Challenge

By BARRY GOLDWATER

An interesting but terribly misleading story about the German industrial Krupp family was published recently in a Sunday supplement. The article was entitled: "The Family That Nearly Destroyed the World."

The basis for the headline is that the Krupps' factories turned out masses of munitions to feed the flames of two world wars.

Although the title is an attention-getting device, it is rather bad political science. It teaches one of the most important lessons in the world: no matter how many cannons, bombs or pieces of armor plate the Krupps built, it was neither they nor their guns which caused or maintained any war.

**Wars are fought with weapons all right, but also by governments. It was not the Krupps' factories which caused World Wars I and II. It was the existence of despotic governments which used their own people and ammunition to achieve political goals.**

There is no imaginable form of violent aggression that does not evolve as a purely governmental act. People in general have nothing to gain from aggression. Capitalists have nothing to gain either. Peaceful and open markets are the key to capitalist success.

The Krupps, as a matter of fact, by entering into various cartel and monopoly agreements, with the connivance of government, gave up any right truly to be called capitalists. They became, instead, virtual private branches of government. But it was the official government itself which started and waged the wars in which the Krupp name earned such critical fame.

The importance of this fact of political life cannot be overstated. In our country, for instance, the so-called robber barons often are accused of bribing the government to gain profits. Many certainly did, as the various legislative scandals regarding rail franchises indicate. The truly important significance of what happened, however, is quite the reverse of the usually painted picture. The fact is that is was the legislators themselves who set the stage for the corruption by enacting laws which gave government extraordinary powers to regulate and interfere with business.

A free market would be proof against such corruption simply because it would be free and not subject to government finagling.

The same is true of an open and free society and the matter of aggression. It is unimaginable, for instance, to think of the United States launching an aggressive war against anyone, anywhere.

Why, even to respond to requested aid in Viet Nam, and to fight a war in which there is not the tiniest shred of territorial, trade or treasure gain for the United States, we have to withstand an internal dissent and discord that would be unthinkable and unpermitted in virtually any other country on earth.

In a Socialist nation, and both Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia are Socialist nations, there is no such concern. The people belong to the state, rather than vice versa. Aggression is as simple as commanding it. Proof of the pudding is that the Socialist government of the Soviet Union has been responsible for backing or beginning every single major conflict that has broken out on the face of the earth since the end of the second world war, which was begun by the Soviet's one-time Socialist ally, Nazi Germany.

Learning to control government, not armaments or arms makers, is the world's greatest challenge in keeping peace.

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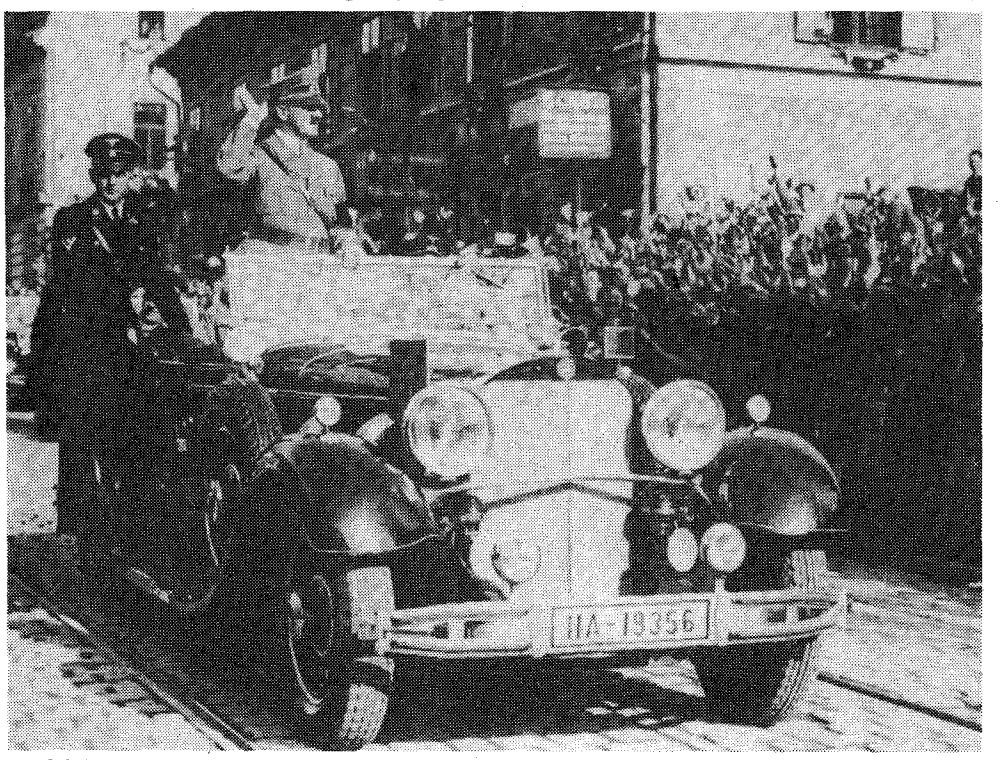

**Adolf Hitler receives the accolades of the crowds as he visits Austria after the 1938 takeover. German industry, according to Goldwater, is being unfairly blamed for perpetuating the Nazi machine, when in fact it was the Reich politicians themselves who are to blame.**

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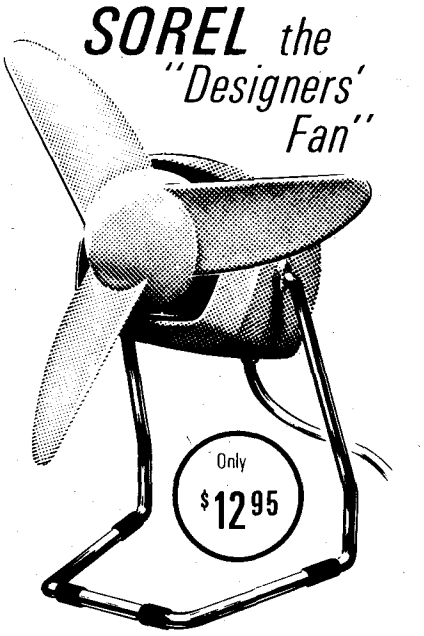


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Continued from page 1

# How Your Tax Money Is Used to Incite Riots

these trouble-breeding operations, and should be compelled to resign.

• Strong indications are emerging of the existence of a central directing force instigating the rash of racial explosions throughout the country.

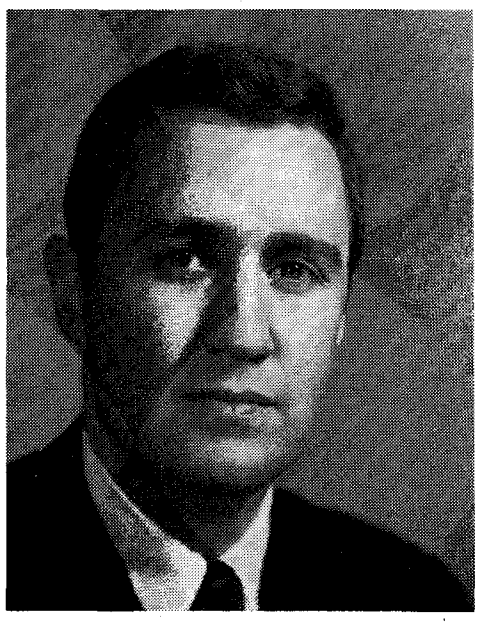
• Prompt and forceful action is urgently essential to put an end to further local turbulence and lawlessness.

**To set in motion the required drastic legislation, Gardner is sponsoring a resolution for a sweeping investigation by a special bipartisan committee created by the full House.**

It would consist of 10 members, five from each party, with unlimited subpoena and other powers. An ample staff and funds would be provided to "conduct a thorough and complete investigation to determine the causes of the riots which have recently occurred in numerous cities."

Rep. Gardner minced no words in implicating government-financed anti-poverty workers in inciting riots, which he characterized as "criminality running amuck."

"The seriousness of this situation cannot be overstated," said Gardner. "There is definite evidence that OEO-funded agencies, with the tacit approval of Sargent Shriver, are tied directly to the violence, lawlessness and calamitous destruction that has stricken many of our cities.



**Rep. James Gardner (R.-N.C.) wants a sweeping House investigation into the cause of the riots.**

"Investigation by myself and a staff member of the Education and Labor Committee uncovered evidence proving conclusively that OEO employes were directly involved in agitation and inflammatory statements which, to a great extent, sparked the violence, looting and burning in Newark, Buffalo and Durham. We also found that numerous OEO agencies throughout the country have been involved in local political activities.

**"Yet in presenting these facts to Sargent Shriver, I received no cooperation whatsoever, either from him or the OEO. I have been deeply disturbed by what appears to be an obvious attempt by Mr. Shriver to whitewash all charges of political activity by OEO and its funded agencies. It is time for Congress to move swiftly to ensure that a giant federal agency does not continue this dangerous practice."**

Cited by Rep. Gardner as a graphic instance of Shriver's condoning of inflammatory political activity by OEO workers is a telegram sent him May 25 by Dominick Spina, police director of Newark.

Vehemently protesting the "use of resources and manpower of an agency of OEO for the purpose of fomenting and agitating against the organized and democratic government and agencies of the city of Newark," Spina bluntly warned that the "acceleration of this practice by this anti-poverty agency will lead to riots and anarchy in our city."

He asked for an immediate response, but it took Shriver more than two weeks to reply by letter. In this brief communication, the OEO boss blandly denied the police director's specific charges and gave the accused OEO agency a clean bill of health.

Shortly thereafter, Newark was rent by a catastrophic racial eruption.

Also in Rep. Gardner's possession is the record of a violence-threatening speech made before the Newark City Council by an anti-poverty worker—who is still on the OEO payroll.

Highlights of this extraordinary fulmination, hurled a few days before the outbreak of the bloody and destructive rioting, are as follows:

"There is going to be blood running in the streets of Newark like there has never been anywhere else in America. . . . You will pay the supreme price, and the city, the state and the nation will know that in Newark, N.J., six supposedly upright citizens became the instrumentality for the worst kind of bloodbath that America has ever seen.

**"You know that your actions are wrong, you know that you are perpetrating the worst kind of fraud, and yet you are hell-bent on doing it. So I am simply saying to you that when the blood runs thick, don't come to me and ask why, because the reason for it will be the action that you take."**

An affidavit by detective Junius Hedgespeth describes an incendiary harangue by another anti-poverty worker and the consequence, as follows:

"He told them that the black man was in a position to seize power in Newark. The crowd responded with yells, 'We came here to fight.' Whereupon, someone in the crowd threw a bottle that hit the wall of the precinct station, and almost instantly was followed by other bottles. Then a barrage of rocks and bottles was thrown through the station doors and windows. The windows of all the police cars outside were smashed."

The Buffalo riot, according to a report by City Councilman Raymond Lewandowski, was preceded by threats and attempts to intimidate him by anti-poverty workers.

The city official related that two VISTA workers "threatened" him that there would be a race riot unless more Negro youths were given jobs. During the subsequent riots one of these VISTA workers was arrested. He claimed he was "advising people of their civil rights."

Since the Buffalo riots, Lewandowski reported, VISTA workers are "holding weekly meetings at which more than several hundred angry militant Negroes are in attendance." He declared that seven of the nine city councilmen want "all federal anti-poverty activity removed from Buffalo because of the agitation and disruptive action on the part of anti-poverty workers in local affairs."

He also caustically described the anti-poverty programs as "a well-organized conspiracy in which Buffalo's elected representatives are being subjected to threats of riot and intimidation by anti-poverty workers."

**OEO chief Sargent Shriver (above) took two weeks to make a bland denial of Rep. Gardner's charges.**

In Durham, N.C., an investigation by Rep. Gardner disclosed extensive political activity by anti-poverty workers.

This was called to Shriver's personal attention, but to no avail.

Gardner is vigorously continuing his inquiries and protests. He stated, "My office has been swamped with letters, newspaper clippings and other articles with accounts of OEO political activities in other parts of North Carolina. This is pernicious and dangerous practice, and must be stopped."

Brushed aside by Shriver was Gardner's charge that the Durham community action agency had "developed a political apparatus which had developed a bloc-type vote in the municipal election [last spring]. . . . There are sound reasons to believe that the activities of these employes raise questions of political involvement which violates the Economic Opportunity Act. I further believe that this activity has been contrary to OEO's instructions set forth in OEO CAP Memo 50-A, dated Dec. 1, 1966."

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**CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN** and his wife, Nina, are once again girdling the globe at taxpayer expense. The Warrens came under congressional fire earlier this year when it was disclosed they used federal funds to junket throughout South America. The pair is now touring Eastern and Western Europe as U.S. representatives.


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# SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

## Wage Law Iniquities

By REP. BUZ LUKENS (R.-Ohio)

Liberals in Congress, who constantly bemoan the fact of unemployment among the nation's low-income, unskilled workers, are always the first to argue for increases in the minimum wage law.

It never seems to sink in on the professional "do-gooders" that there is a direct relationship between the rate of joblessness and the minimum wage which employers are forced to pay under the law.

The connection was established recently by the National Federation of Independent Business in a nationwide survey of 40,000 small businesses. The study showed that as many as 400,000 workers have been fired as a direct result of the latest boost in the minimum wage.

What's more, the federation predicts that more layoffs are in store for the future as more and more firms discover that low-skilled employes are not producing enough to justify the payment of higher wages. This will occur in 1968 when another boost in the federal minimum pay standard is scheduled to go into effect.

The fact is that under the American free enterprise system, businessmen cannot pay employes more than they are worth unless they want to go out of business. And all the federal laws in the world will not change this basic fact of American economic life.

The sad part about it is that the firings occur in the very strata of American workers who can least afford to be laid off. Most of them would rather be able to count on steady employment than have the government raise their pay and pass on the risk of unemployment.

## Arab Trainees in U.S.

By REP. JOHN DOWDY (D.-Tex.)

*Our government is giving military training to 129 men from six Arab nations which broke diplomatic relations with us. These foreign soldiers have access to our training manuals on aircraft, tanks, communications gear, and other military equipment in the bases around the nation at which they are training. Altogether, we are training 355 military men from nine Arab countries.*

## Egyptian Cotton Ban

By REP. JOHN MYERS (R.-Ind.)

As a member of the House Committee on Agriculture, I voted to permanently bar the importation of extra-long staple cotton from Egypt. By a vote of 22 to 2 the committee also voted to permit U.S. farmers to supply this market now enjoyed by Egypt. This legislation closes U.S. markets to a major product from a country which has severed diplomatic relations with the United States. It also bans the small importation of cotton from the Sudan.

Egypt's annual shipments of this cotton have averaged around 56,000 bales over the last five years, representing a market of approximately $12 million in the United States. In my opinion, there is no use in denying our farmers the right to produce this cotton, and giving this market to those who trample our flag. This legislation would have the effect of increasing the production of cotton in the United States by about 56,000 acres.

## Question of 300%

By REP. H.R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

*How goes the "War on Poverty"? The* Spokesman-Review *of Spokane, Wash., reports the Bureau of the Budget has added up the estimated expenditures for fiscal year 1968 on programs at all governmental levels to help the poor. The total:* $25.6 billion. *The total expenditures in 1960 were $9.9 billion. Despite this 300 per cent increase in expenditures, the Johnson Administration claims 30 million persons in the United States are still in poverty. Would it be fair to ask where all the money is going?*

## U.S. Canal Sovereignty

By REP. GEORGE GOODLING (R.-Pa.)

Some Americans believe that to surrender the sovereignty of the United States is to see control of the canal pass on to Panama, automatically or completely. Under these conditions it is believed the Panama Canal would remain open and available to the United States.

This is a dangerous presumption, and we must not forget that Russia has, over the past several years, demonstrated a deep interest in vital waterways throughout the world—she already controls the White Sea-Baltic Sea Canal. In the light of this Russian interest, the Panama Canal area would pose as an important one, for it is the geographic center of the Western Hemisphere, a kind of crossroads of world trade. This area also serves as an avenue for deep penetration into Latin America. It is easy to understand, then, why Russia might welcome a development where America would surrender its sovereignty over the Panama Canal, for this could create a vacuum toward which the Soviet Union might quickly gravitate.

It is to be recognized, also, that Russia already has a powerful base in Cuba. When Premier Kosygin left the United States just a few weeks ago for Russia, he stopped off for a visit in Cuba with Fidel Castro. This would suggest that the Soviets have not abandoned their politico-military objectives in this area, and Panama, a logical stepping-stone to Communist domination of Central and South America, is not very far away.

American sovereignty over the Panama Canal is in our best national interests. To surrender this sovereignty would be to invite increased blackmail from Panama and to offer Russia a tempting prospect for a new strategy of maritime conquest; that is, the Panama Canal.

Another important consideration is this: The United States has what approximates a $3-billion investment in the Panama Canal and the Panama Canal area. This represents a taxpayer investment, and it should be protected, not squandered.

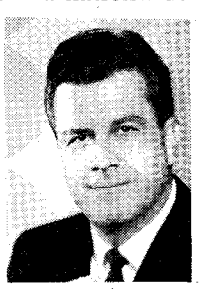
## Free World Shipping

By REP. CHARLES CHAMBERLAIN (R.-Mich.)

*I regret to report that free world shipping to North Viet Nam is on the increase. During June, 11 more ships flying flags of free world countries, nine British, one Italian and one Cypriot, carried goods to North Viet Nam. And one of these had a cargo classified as strategic. Further, during June, there were more ships from the free world countries unloading in North Viet Nam than from the Soviet Union. It's obvious that instead of getting better, the situation is getting worse.*

## Law Enforcement Needed

By REP. ALBERT WATSON (R.-S.C.)



While I would applaud the affirmative remarks by the President in a nationwide address aimed at bringing peace to Detroit, I am appalled that his attorney general is not enforcing the laws as he was sworn to do. Ramsey Clark obviously doesn't have the stomach to enforce the law. In the interest of justice and the protection of the American people, he should resign and take up a job teaching sociological jurisprudence at some university. The American people have a right to expect someone with a genuine respect for the law as their attorney general, rather than someone who spends his time analyzing the so-called sociological causes of crime.

## Target for Cuba

By REP. JOHN DUNCAN (R.-Tenn.)

*It appears that most members of Congress are opposed to the proposed treaty between the Republic of Panama and the United States. The President's proposal to cede sovereignty over the Panama Canal to the Republic of Panama has just come to light and I have joined in a concurrent resolution expressing the will of the Congress that it protect our sovereign and material rights. If the Panama Canal were not under the immediate control of the United States government, it would immediately become a target for Castro Cuba.*

## Serious Crime Increase

By REP. ALPHONZO BELL (R.-Calif.)

The crime rate this summer may exceed anything our nation has known in its 191-year history. It is surpassing the ability of many agencies to cope with it. Serious crime increased 11 per cent from 1965 to 1966. The increase went to 20 per cent during the first three months of this year as compared with the same period last year. Incoming information indicates a more spectacular rise for the rest of 1967. Federal help to reverse this trend is needed.

## REA Co-op Tax Exemptions

By REP. CHARLES GUBSER (R.-Calif.)

In the June 1967 issue of the *Rotarian*, a full-page ad was sponsored by the National Rural Electrification Cooperative Association which cites the need for REA co-ops to "install new equipment, heavier lines, and the other facilities necessary to keep ahead of the demand." The ad claims that REAs will have to invest more than $9 billion in the next 15 years to stay ahead.

The next paragraph makes an obvious plea for the passage of a bill by Congress which would permit REA co-ops to pool their collective credit.

This ad raises several questions. First, should an agency which gets money at 2 per cent, which in turn costs the taxpayers more than 4 per cent, be allowed to spend advertising funds in order to grow beyond its authorized purpose? Secondly, should a tax-exempt organization have the right to spend money for the purpose of influencing legislation?

**The Internal Revenue Service has challenged the tax-exempt status of the Sierra Club for opposing two Administration-sponsored dams on the Colorado River. It has revoked the tax-exempt status of conservative religious groups which did not endorse political candidates and at the same time did not question the tax exemption of religious magazines and tax-exempt groups which did make outright endorsements—of President Johnson.**

Though the Internal Revenue Service probably does not have the power to tax REA co-operatives, it seems wrong to me that some private non-profit or religious organizations should be denied tax exemption for allegedly attempting to influence legislation while government-sponsored co-ops, financed completely with taxpayers' money, are allowed to spend public money for outright lobbying expenses.

The mimeograph mills of almost every branch of the federal government are constantly grinding out propaganda designed to influence public opinion and the votes of members of the House and Senate. Why shouldn't tax-exempt govment departments be subject to the same lobbying rules imposed upon private, non-profit, tax-exempt organizations?

The power to tax, to grant tax exemption or to withhold it is a power so awesome that it should be applied only under a strict and single standard to groups which oppose, as well as support the views of an administration in power. And government agencies should be forced to live by the same single standard which applies to private non-profit groups!

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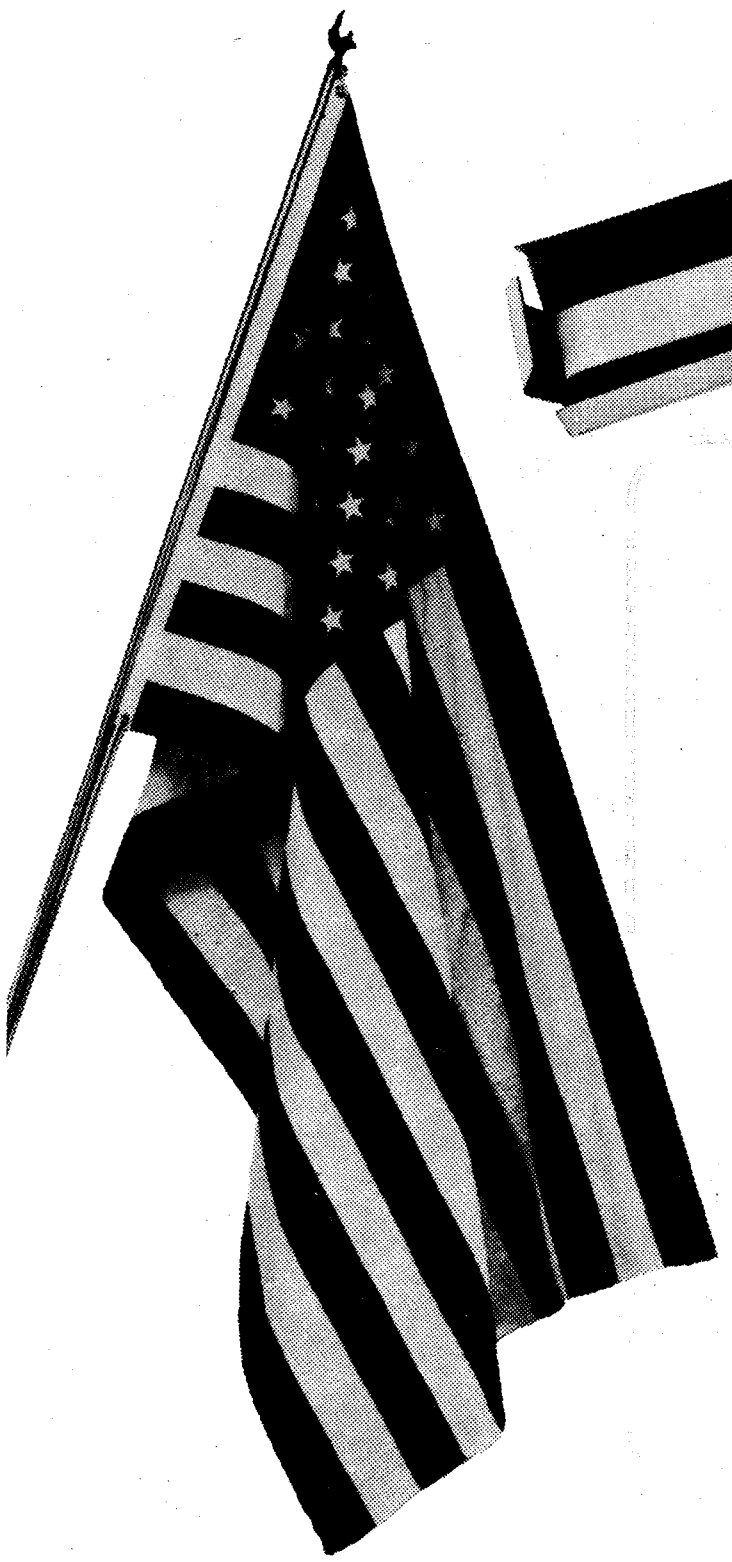

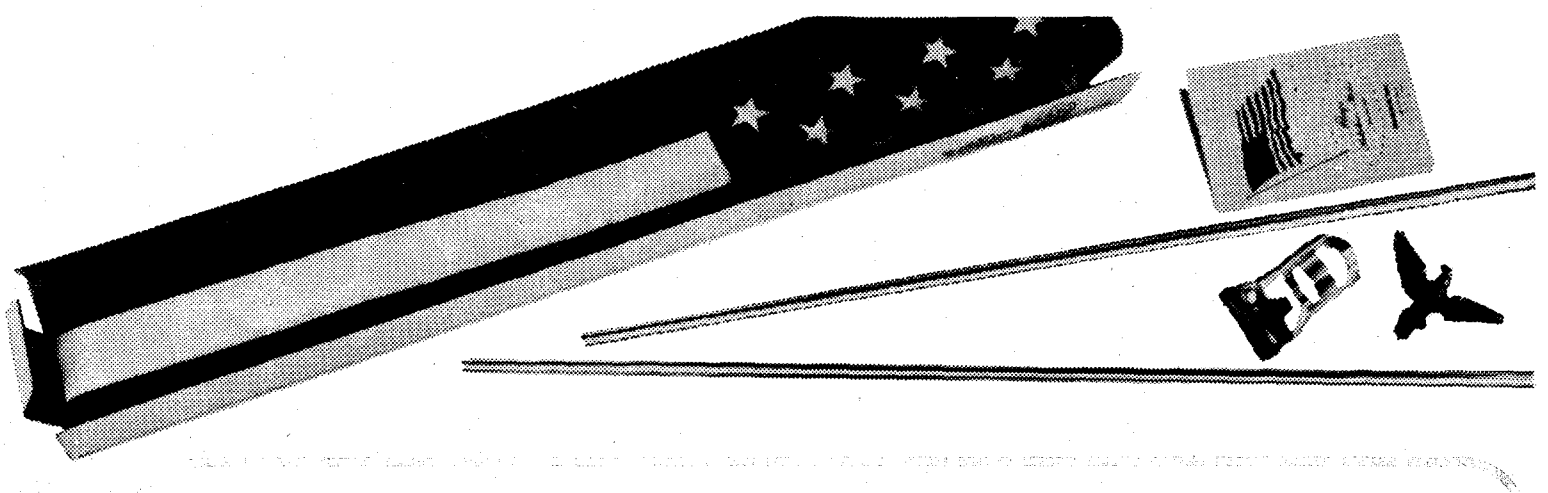

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